ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF The Śaivism

Śaivism



SWAMI PARMESHWARANAND

VOLUME 1

This triple volumes Encyclopaedia is a comprehensive and thematic compilation of all important aspects of Śiva and Śaivism in alphabetical order which took active part in origin and development of Indian religio-philosophical tradition. Śiva is one of the eminent ancient Hindu God. Śaivism creates the principle religious current of classical and modern Hinduism which centers on the worship of Lord Śiva. In classical Hindu mythology, Śiva is the god of destruction, generally portrayed as a Yogin who lives in Himalaya. In these volumes, I present more than 1000 themes on Śiva and Śaivism from primitive to modern society.

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Volume-1

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Preface

This three volumes Encyclopaedia of Śaivism is a compilation of comprehensive and informative source of religio-philosophical tradition of Śiva and Śaivism. Lord Śiva created or manifested this world out of His free will and on his own accord (Lila and Swatantryasākti). He is the absolute reality both in his transcendental and immanent aspects. The world is not separate from him. Lord Paramaśiva has manifested himself in two forms, *viz.*, the experiencer and the experienced. The experiencer is *Grahaka*, the individual self and the experienced is *Grahya*, the universe or the objective world. The individual self is no other than Lord Himself with powers limited.

The Universe is divided into thirty-six *tattvas* or categories of universal experience. These are grouped in two ways, as pure order and impure order. The pure order is divided into five Subdivisions Śiva, *Sākti*, *Sadasiva*, *Isvara*, *Suddha-vidya*. Out of these five categories, the first-two Śiva and *Sakti* will not undergo any dual change though these are the potential source for further divisions from *Maya* down to earth. When the absolute *Mahesvara*, by his 'Swatantrya' or absolute will, feel like letting go the universe contained in Him, in the first vibration or throbing of this will he is known as Śiva. This initial creative movement is *Śivatatva*. This is the State of pure *Chaitanya*-Substratum of all changes.

The term Śiva is used for the ultimate condition of consciousness in its immanent aspect. Śiva comprises both the Universal and the individual and manifests as consciousness in conditional form. There is no differentiating attributes to Śiva. Śiva is here called *anasrita*-Śiva because he is the first manifestation of the Supreme being cognising consciousness alone devoid of objects. It is identified as the stage of the *Sunya*. There is no objective content in it. It is only an *avastha* a state.

Though there can be no differentiation between Śiva and *Sākti* as such, the '*Cit*' is nevertheless know as Śiva insofar as it is free from all differentiating attributes and as *Sākti* by virtue of its characteristic self awareness Śiva and *Sākti* are inseparably related to each other as the rays to the flame. Here Śiva and *Sākti* may be expressed as

'I am' which is the essence of 'Cit'. *Sākti* is Śiva himself in his creative aspect. *Sākti* that negates the objective side of experience in Śiva. It that negates the objective side of experience in Śiva. It is *Sākt i* that polarises consciousness into *Aham* and *Idam* (I and this) subject and object. *Śākti* is not separate from Śiva but Śiva himself in his creative aspect.

We hope that this Encyclopaedia would be an assets for the scholars and readers of Hindu theoloy and philosophy. I am thankful to all those scholars whose works have been included in this publication.

Swami Parmeshwaranand

1
Abhinavagupta

Abhinavagupta, one of the most prominent authors of Kashmir Śaivism, was a descendants of Atrigupta, a great scholar of Kannauj, whom king Lalitāditya invited to live in Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. Atrigupta was not a *Vaiśya*, as the surname would suggest, but was a Brahmin of a high rank as he has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta as a *prāgrya-janmā*. An administrative officer, governing one hundred villages, was designated in ancient times as a *goptā* (from *goptṛ*). Some ancestor of Atrigupta was such a prominent goptā that his family was subsequently known by such surname. Viṣṇugupta, the great Ghāṇakya and Brahmagupta, the great astronomer, were both Brahmins having such surname. The word 'gupta', in this context, is just a distorted form of the word '*goptā*'. Many great scholars and teachers appeared in Kashmir in the family of Atrigupta. Vasugupta, the discoverer of Śivasūra, the Lakṣmaṇagupta, a teacher of Abhinavagupta, may have risen from the same family as no other Kashmirian family of scholars under such name has so far come to light. Narasinhagupta and Varāhagupta, both great scholars and saints, were respectively the father and the grandfather of Abhinavagupta. His mother, Vimlakalā, was a *yoginī*. Manoharagupta was his younger brother and a favourite disciple. His other prominent disciples were Karṇa, Mandra, Vatsalikā and Ambā. Some other disciples mentioned by him in his *Tantrāloka* include his five cousins named Kṣemagupta, Utpalagupta, Abhinavagupta II, Cakragupta and Padmagupta.

But none among all such favourite disciples of the great teacher, except Abhinava, the author of Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā, a work of minor importance, pursued any remarkable academic activities of writing books or commentaries. His only disciple who showed sufficient interest and ability in such activity was Kṣemarāja, who is different from Kṣemagupta and who may have belonged to a family from which sprung scholars like Bhūtirāja. Ādityarāja, Indurāja etc. But it is a wonder that Kṣemarāja's name has not been mentioned by the great teacher in any of his available works. It is possible that Kṣemarāja could not have won the favour of his preceptor on account of his being overconscious about the superiority of his intelligence which may have amounted to egoism not appreciable in the case of a scholar-saint. Abhinavagupta had many teachers and preceptors from whom he picked up many secrets of different *śāstras*. The greatest of his

preceptors was Śambhunātha of Kaṅgṛā whom he refers at least twenty-two times in his Tantrāloka and for whom he expresses the greatest regard in several importance works on philosophy and theology. Abhinavagupta belonged to the later part of the tenth and the earlier part of the eleventh century A.D. The year of composition given by him in three of his works, corresponds with 990,992 and 1014 A.D. respectively.

Abhinavagupta wrote on subjects like dramaturgy, literary criticism, logic etc., in addition to Śaivism on which he is the final authority in both, the theory and practice. He interpreted correctly and clearly the philosophic principles and theological doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism through his commentaries and independent works. It is in fact he who popularized Kashmir Śaivism by writing detailed and elucidative commentaries on the works of Somānanda and Utpaladeva. As a commentator and interpreter, he did not leave any stone unturned in the field of the philosophy of Śaiva moninsm. Besides, he is the only author who arranged, systematised and interpreted the highly esoteric and mystic doctrines of Śaiva theology lying scattered in the vast scriptural literature of Śaiva Āgamas. In addition to these two difficult and colossal takes, he made the Śaiva philosophy easy to be understood even by beginners through some small and big but easy works that can even now serve as text books as the M.A. (Samsk.) level. In addition to it, he composed several easy religio-philosophic lyrics dedicated to Śiva and Śakti. Such lyrics throw a wonderful light on some highly mysterious points of spiritual philosophy. His most important commentaries and independent works are:

1. *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* of Utpaladeva is the most important work on the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism. Such a work would not have become fully intelligible and could not have attained so much popularity if Abhinavagupta had not explained the principles contained in it through his detailed commentary named *Vimarśinī*. No scholar other than his could have done such a difficult task so efficiently as he did it.
2. *Utpaladeva* had written himself a brief but scholarly commentary on his *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*. It was known either as *Tīkā* or as *Vivṛtī*. The scholarly discussions on many topics contained in it were of a very high standard of learning. But, unfortunately, none of its manuscripts has become available so far. Abhinavagupta wrote a voluminous commentary in the form of detailed notes explaining the scholarly philosophic ideas of Utpaladeva expressed in that *Vivṛti*. That commentary has been published by the State Government in three big volumes, but cannot be of sufficient use to scholars for want of the original text of the *Vivṛti* which is elucidates. The commentary is known as *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī*.
3. Abhinavagupta wrote commentaries on three smaller works of Utpaladeva. Those commentaries have unfortunately been lost. Two of them have been quoted by *Maheśvarānanda* in his *Mahārtha-mañjai-parimala*. Such commentaries are his *Vimarśinīs* an (i) *Ajaḍapramātṛ-siddhi*, *Īsvara-siddhi* and *Sambandha-siddhi*.
4. A highly lamentable loss is the disappearance of his commentary named *Ālocana* on *Sivadṛṣti* of *Somānanda*. Very few scholars do read *Śivadṛṣṭi*. Had the *Ālocana* of Abhinavagupta been available, *Śivadṛṣṭ* would have become as much popular with scholars as *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*.

5. Another lamentable loss is that of *Krama-keli*, his commentary on *Kramastotra* of Siddhanātha, dealing with a superior type of Trika yoga termed as *Kalinaya* or *Kramanaya*.
6. *Parātriṃśakā* is a small scriptural work dealing with some highly esoteric doctrines of practice of the Trika system. Abhinavagupta's detailed commentary named *Vivaraṇa* on it throws light on many of such esoteric practices expressed very often through the methods of mysticism. It is thus one of the most important works on the theology of the Trika system of Śaivism.
7. The most important original work of Abhinavagupta is *Tantrāloka*. It contains the essence of all the scriptural works of monistic Śaivism. Esoteric doctrines of *Trika Yoga*, lying scattered in the *Trika* scriptures and expressed there through a highly mystic method, were collected, compiled, arranged in a proper order, systematised philosophically and expressed in a lucid style by Abhinavagupta is that voluminous work. All the relevant principles of philosophy have also been discussed there, side the sidy, by the great author. Besides, the work deals with all the important rituals of the Trika system through a philosophic method and contains thus a finer theological study as well. It is in this way a unique work on the practical side of spiritual philosophy and throws immense light on many obscure and mystic topics of Śaivite *Sādhanā* through a philosophic method and style.
8. *Tantrasānra* of Abhinavagupta is just a summary of his *Tantrāloka* written in lucid prose style. It is very often simpler and clearer than the latter but lack in the details of the subject.
9. One more highly important and independent work of Abhinavagupta is his *Mālini-vijaya-vārtika* dealing with the esoteric doctrines of theoretical and practical aspects of Śaiva monism as expressed mystically in the *Malinī-vijayotara tantra* of the Trika system. This work discusses in detail many principles and doctrines of a highly profound character. Such an important work should have been explained by some scholars in the line of the disciples of Abhinavagupta. The work, though of very high academic merit, has not so far become sufficiently popular for want of such elucidative commentary. Kṣemarāja should have tried his pen on such a work instead of the simple tantric scriptures like *Svacchanda* and *Netra* Tantras.
10. Abhinavagupta had composed another such work on the previous (pūrva) portion of *Mālinī-tantra*. It was known as *Pūrva-pañcikā*. He had written some other such *pañcikās*, referred by him, on practical Śaivism. But all of them have been lost.
11. Ādiśeṣa and written a philosophic work named *Paramārtha-sāra* at a time when theistic Sāṃkhya, Vaiṣṇavism and Upaniṣadic Vedānta had not yet developed as distinctly separate schools of philosophy. Abhinavagupta was attracted by its merits of clear and accurate expression. He liked it but did not approve of its Vaiṣṇavite character. So he revised it, gave it a Śaivite form and presented it to readers as a good text-book of monistic Śaivism useful for beginners. It can serve

even now as a good textbook of Kashmir Śaivism at the level of M.A. Saṃskrit and M.A. Philosophy.

12. Some other easy and brief textbooks and some philosophic poems written by Ahinavagupta for the sake of beginners are:
   (i) *Bodhapañcadaśikā* dealing with the very fundamental principles of the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism.
   (ii) *Paramārthacarcā*, a brief work that can serve as an aid in the Jñānadikṣā of the Trika Yoga of the higest type.
   (iii) *Anuttarāṣṭikā*, a small work of the same character as above.
   (iv) *Anubhava-nivedana-stotra*, a philosophic lyric describing the Yogic experiences attained through the practice of some esoteric mudrās.
   (v) *Bhairvastotra*, a beautiful religion-philosophic lyric expressing the view of a perfect yogin towards life, death, misery etc.
   (vi) *Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* explaining an important element of monistic ritual worship of the Lord.
   (vii) *Kramastotra* discussing in detail the mystic doctrines of Kālīyoga as prevalent among the adherents of Kashmir Śaivism.

   In addition he wrote many minor works on Śaivism which have been lost and composed several important works on some other subjects like dramaturgy, literary criticism, logic and so on.

   Abhinavagupta alone could explain correctly the works of Somānanda and Utpaladeva as he was equally advanced in yogic attainments and scholarship. He alone could write works like *Tantrāloka*, *Mālini-vijaya-vārtika* and *Parātriṃśakā-vivaraṇa*, because as a saint-scholar he possessed the highly valuable merits listed below:
   (i) He had the deepest direct realization of the principles of the monistic Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir.
   (ii) He had sufficient experience in the practice of the highest methods of Yoga of both the Trika and the Kula systems.
   (iii) He possessed a very sharp intelligence capable to form a correct conceptual understanding of the truth experienced through a non-conceptual direct realisation.
   (iv) He had complete command over language and could express rightly and clearly, whatever, he experienced and understood.
   (v) He as a master of logic and *mimāṃsā* and could therefore discuss topics of philosophy with great efficiency.
   (vi) He knew the secrets of the theories of all the schools of thought and succeeded in examining them critically in a convincing manner.
   (vii) He lived a long life resulting in a high maturity in experience, thought and expression and could render an immensely valuable service to more than one prevalent subjects of study.

It is a pity that all except one of his disciples were interested only in the tasteful experiences of self-realisation and did not, consequently, develop any remarkable active interest in academic pursuits with the result that many of his very important works remained unexplained and unelucidated. Even Kṣemarāja, who is proud of his being the disciple of Abhinavagupta, did not touch any of his works. He wrote commentaries on Śivasūtra, Spandaśāstra some Tāntric works and some philosophic poems, but did not take up the task of explaining the works of greater importance written by his master. The duty of commenting upon *Tantrāloka* fell down upon Jayaratha a hundred years after Kṣemarāja. *Tśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī* was explained by Bhāskarakaṇṭha by the close of the eighteenth century. Some other important works of that great author of Kashmir Śaivism are still lying unexplained. Śiva alone knows as to who will be so fortunate as to write notes on them. His grandson, Manasārām, popularly known as Manasrāzdān, attained prominence during the Paṭhān rule. Being disgusted with their tyranic administration, he leaft Kashmir and settled finally at Kiladār in Wazirabād area of Punjab and attained great fame in the country as a Saint scholar. His Āśrama and temple of Kiladār are still maintained by local Muslims as its Hindu priests and managers had to leave the place in 1947 when Pākistan was established as a separate country. Mansāram composed a fresh work on Śaivism under the title *Svātantryapīpikā* in sūtra style and added a Sanskrit commentary to it. It has not been published by any publisher so far but is available in manuscript form.

The tradition of writing of commentaries and fresh works on Śaivism continues still in Kashmir. *Svātantryadarpaṇa*, a fresh work in couplets in the Ārya metre, alongwith explanatory notes in Sanskrit, composed by the author of the work in hand, has been recently published by Ranbir Vidyāpeetha of the Central Government of India at Jammu. Its English edition is also going to be published in near future. But the rapid and drastic socio economic changes, brought about by quick democracy, have now shaken the small community of the Paṇdits of Kashmir. Therefore, the traditions of teaching and learning, as also of activities in some meaningful research on Śaivism, are now fastly coming to a slope in the valley.

2
Acharya Amṛtavagbhava

A great person born at Allahabad in a Mahārāshtrian Brahmana family of traditional Sanskrit scholars of Vārāṇasī in 1903 A.D. In 1919, when he was a student of oriental studies in Sanskrit, he had to face a big problem in his academic career on account of which he took refuge in the feet of Tripurā, his favourite Tantric deity, for proper guidance and help. As a result of his faithful and ardent approach to her, he had a vision of sage Durvāsaṣ who blessed him with his grace and imparted to him the method of the highest type of *Śāmbhavaupāya*. As a result of his faithful practice in Śāmbhavayoga, he not only solved the concerned problem before him, but, by and by, had a clear and direct realisation of the fundamental philosophic principles of Kashmir Śaivism. After a few years he composed *'Parama-śiva-stotra'* while working as a research scholar in the Sarasvati Bhavan Library of the then Queen's College of Sanskrit. Till then he was known as Vaidyanātha Shastri Varkale, but had started to use occasionally his pen-name, Amṛta-Vāgbhava. In 1928 he left his home and hearth and started roaming about as a hermit and practising regularly the Śāmbhava Yoga taught by sage Durvāsas.

As another result of the practice of such Yoga, he had many visions of several deities and divine phenomena, especially at sacred places of such deities. Besides, he attained direct experience of the subtler nature of the self as well, while roaming about round sacred places of importance. During such period of his life, he composed several works on the philosophy and theology of Śaiva monism as well as on religon, politics and literature under his pen-name, Amṛta-vāghbhava. Most of his important works are now available in print but some of them are still lying as manuscripts. His works on *Śaiva monism* present certain new ideas and have been composed in accordance with a new approach to the problems of spiritual philosophy and theology, though he does not diverge from the fundamental principles of the theory of philosophy and the doctrines of the practice of theology of Śaiva monism, discovered and developed by its ancient authors. The word, Neo-Śaivism, is coined to denote his such philosophy which is partly ancient and partly new, just like the neo-Vedānta of Vivekānanda.

The very philosophic approach of Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava to human life and its aims is quite new. All our ancient philosophers were mainly concerned only with the

spiritual problems of life and showed least interest in its social, economic or political problems. At the most, they showed a little interest in the matters of religion because it helped in the spiritual uplift of people. But Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava was keenly interested in politics. It was his strong belief that spiritual uplif to people could not be worked out successfully before their pinching worldly problems were not solved satisfactorily. He felt further that a proper socio economic set up, capable to relieve people from worldly problems, could not be established in a society without establishing a good, effective and just administrative machinery which, in his opinion, was dependent on a right political system. Therefore, he used to say and write that we should, first of all, achieve perfect political independence and then establish an efficient, effective and just administrative system through right politics in our country and after that we should propagate religio-philosophic ways of spiritual progress. He wanted political workers to follow an ideal of becoming servants of the nation and not its masters. He did not like the ways of our political workers, especially after the passing away of Sardar Patel and very often predicted the bad results to be brought about by their wrong and dishonest policies.

Perfect spiritual independence was considered by him as the final goal of life and the relative liberation from all kinds of dependence, caused by worldly problems, was taken by him as an essential aid and means for the attainment of perfect liberation of spiritual character. He composed two very important works in his youthful age and these are *Ātmavilāsa* and *Rāṣṭrāloka*, one discussing the pure spiritual philosophy and the other throwing a brilliant light on his political philosophy. His time to time criticism on the working of Indian democracy and also on the character of its masters, "hiding the darkness of their bodies and minds under their white clothes", used to come out in the issues of *Śrisvādhyāya*, a Hindi journal, in beautiful satirical verses in Sanskrit. Some of such verses were afterwards included by him in his *Amṛta-sūkti-pañcāśikā*, published in 1973. Such inclusion of socio-political studies in Indian philosophy is the most important element of his thought on account of which it is being named as neo-Śaivism. He contributed many other new ideas regarding studies in the spiritual philosophy of Śaivism.

The absolute God, according to Śaivism, is both Śiva and Śakti in His two aspects of transcendence and immanence. In fact, His own nature of Godhead is termed as Śakti, by virture of which He is God. Therefore the devotees of His such divine nature call Him as Parā Ambā, the Supreme Mother Goddess. All charms of Godhead lie in such aspect of God in which He is called *Tripura-sundarī*, the beauty that shines at the three planes of unity, diversity and diverse unity; and *Lalitā*, all tenderness shining in the whole existence. Other names given to Him in such aspect are *Kameśvarī, Rājarajeśvarī, Parameśvarī* etc. If God Śiva were devoid of such Śaktihood, he would not have any charm for us and would have been a vacuum like entity like the pure space. His Śaktihood is thus His aspect of the highest importance. But the word 'Śakti,' in its grammatical aspect, denotes an entity dependent on some other entity that holds it or possesses it as being *Śaktimān*. Its similarity with dependent ideas like *kṛiti, ukti, prīti, mati etc.*, comes into one's head on hearing it. The word Śiva, on the other hand, does not denote clearly anything like power

or powerfulness which is the most important essence of the absolute reality. In order to avoid such one-sided denotation of the *Para-tattva*, Āchāryaji coined the word Śāka from the root (Śak with suffix ghañ and used such term for the absolute and basic reality, the only metaphysical truth accepted in Śaiva monism. The term can be explained thus: "*Śakanam::Śakaḥ*", meaning one compact whole of all divine powers. The word Śakti, being feminine in gender, creates at once an idea of a female deity in the mind of a listener, but such a thing does not happen on hearing the world 'Śakaḥ' which is masculine in gender. The term Śāka has been used profusely by the Āchārya in his *Siddhamahārahasyam* and has been explained there at length in accordance with many aspects of the Godhead of the Absolute. The term suggests that theism is the essential nature of the Abˉsolute in accordance with the ontology of Śaiva monism.

Another new and very important contribution to the method of the expression of the fundamental character of the Absolute by the Āchārya is his method of philosophical explanation of some mutually controversial phenomena with the help of the two principles of absolutism and relativity. Such a way of explanation of the truth dispels certain contradictions in the statements of divine scriptures as well. The Āchārya assets that the Absolute is being though over, understood and expressed through two view points of absolutism and relativity. Accordingly the manifestations of relative *sattā* (existence) and *asattā* (non-existence) have their roots in "*Mahāsattā*" (the absolute existence) of the Absolute and are manifested by the Absolute through Its divine playfulness as two relative ideas spoken of in scriptures. Similar is the case with the relative ideas of the pairs of (1) *Vidyā*, (correct knowledge) and *avidyā* (incorrect knowledge), (2) svātantrya (independence) and *pāratantrya* (dependence), (3) *nairmalya* (purity) and mala (impurity), (4) *Kartṛtva* (activeness) and *akartṛtava* (inactiveness) etc., all of which are respectively two types of ideas regarding the phenomenal and relative manifestations of (1) *Mahāvidyā*, (absolute knowledge), (2) *pūrṇa svātantrya* (Perfect self-dependence), (3) *Pūrṇa nairmalya* (Perfect purity), (4) *pūrṇa-kartṛtva* (perfect activeness) etc., of the absolute reality understood and talked about in relative terms at the plane of relativity. All this has been explained as the *vilāsa* of the Absolute God.

There is some confusion in the principle of *buddhi* as taught in several schools of India philosophy. On one hand, it is called *Mahattattva* and is accepted as the source of all the universal cosmic elements right from ego (ahaṅkāra) to solid existence (pṛthvī), and, on the other hand, it is taken as the understanding sense of individual beings. It has thus two mutually contradictory characters of being a universal entity, on one hand, and an individual capacity, on the other hand. Āchāryaji, following the traditional teachings of his ancestors, and relying on the authenticity of his personal yogic experiences, takes *Mahattattva* and *Buddhitattva* as two different elements and, accommodating *Citta* (of Vedānta) and manas (of Sāmkhya) respectively in them, removes such contradiction. *Mahat*, according to him, is that insencient splendour which grows out of *prakṛti* and, bearing the universal reflection of the whole phenomenal existence, undergoes outward evolution assuming the forms of all the twenty-two other instrumental and objective elements, worked out in the *Sāmkhya* philosophy. He takes Buddhi as the understanding

capacity of an individual being. Mahat, in accordance with his views, grows into two elements known as *Ahaṅkāra* (ago) and Buddhi (understanding), each of which appears in two aspects, one facing *Puruṣa* and the other looking towards objective phenomena. Ahaṁkāra, in its objective role is known as citta and Buddhi in such role is called *manas*. In short, these four elements are basically only two, ego and mind. Such an idea dispels the contradiction without increasing the number of such tattvas.

As for the four states of animation, Acharyaji explains their character in quite a new way. He says in his *sidhamhā-rahasya: Jāgrat,* the waking state, is the state of *vismṛti* or total self oblivion: *svapna,* the dreaming state, is that of *smṛti* or recollection, *suṣupti,* the sleeping state, is that of *anubhūti,* that is, the state that follows pure existence (anubhūti) and *Turyā,* the state of self-revelation, is that of *bhūti* or pure existence. The self shines through its own psychic lustre of pure consciousness in Turyā. That is followed by suṣupti in which a being experiences his pure individual consciousness free from all misery. In dreaming state a person feels his capacities to know and to do as unfettered by the laws of causation and restriction as a result of a faint awakening of the past impression of his basic divine nature and hence it has been defined as *smṛti*. In the waking state a person cannot at all revive his impression of divinity or purity but takes the unconscious physical form as his self. That is a new idea contributed by him to Śaivism.

Having been a student of Sanskrit grammar for a few years of his youthful age, he worked out a fresh philosophication of certain elements of Sanskrit grammar, not touched in such context by Bhartṛhari or Nāgeśa. Such elements are *Dhātu Prātipadika, Uttama-puruṣa* etc., discussed philosophically by him in his *Siddha-mahā-rahasya*.

With respect of different principles of cosmogony established in different schools of Indian philosophy, he says that the theories of *ārmbha, pariṇāmā* and *vivarta* are correct at the lower levels of creation and are meant for such aspirants who are yet children in higher spiritual philosophy. *Svātantrya-Siddhānta,* the principle of the free sportive will of God, is, in his view, the cent per cent correct principle of cosmogony and is meant for the aspirants of higher merit. Other schools of thought say that is is only their own principle which is correct, while all other principles are incorrect. The Āchārya takes much broader view on such pints. Besides, he crushes down the agruments of Advaita Vedāntins put forth by them in favour of their theory of *vivarta* with the help of subtle logical arguments in almost all the chapters in his *Ātmavilāsa*. The vivarta theory had already been criticised by ancient authors of Śaivism, but his Neo-Śaivism defeats it in a fresh way of arguments so that it can be taken as a fesh contribution.

Vedānta takes the absolute truth as an indivisible and unitary self-expression of *sattā* (existence), *cittā* (consciousness) and Ānandatā (blissfulness). But the Āchārya expresses it as their that root cause out which all these three aspects of the Absolute reality become manifest. He uses the term *saccidānanda-kanda* and not *Saccidānanda-svarūpa* for the absolute.

He develops the new principle of *vilāsa* of the absolute which is the root cause of all phenomenal existence and its all functions. Though such principle of absolute Godhead had already been discovered by ancient authors of Śaiva monism, yet the word

vilāsa used for the activity of Godhead, is a new thing contributed by the Āchāryji.

These are the main new philosophic ideas of Āchārya Amṛtavābhava. Many more such ideas of minor importance can be found in his works and therefore his philosophy is being termed as Neo-Śaivism.

He composed three philosophic hymns eulogizing Lord Śiva and Mother Śakti which throw light on many philosophic principles of Śaiva monism, besides writing three remarkable works dealing directly with his Neo-Śaivism. An introduction to such books is given here chronologically:

Paramaśivastotra

It is his first important work. It was written by him in 1926 while he was living yet in his own home at Vārāṇasi and was working in the Sarasvati-Bhavana Library of the then Queen's Sanskrit College under the principalship of M.M. Gopināth Kavirāj. It is a hymn eulogising Śiva, the Almighty God, appearing in the forms of thirty-six *tattvas* of Śaivism. It is simultaneously a prayer and a philosophic work throwing light on the nature and character of the thirty-six *tattvas*. It has been published recently with a detailed Hindi commentary by the author of the work in hand. Most of his published works bear the translations or commentaries by the same commeṇtaṭọr though just a few commentaries by the same commentator though just a few have been commented upon by other disciples of the Āchārya as well.

Mandākrāntāstotra

It is the most beautiful one among all the stotras composed by Āchāryaji and has been written in Mandākrāntā metre. It was written by him in 1929 when, having returned from his pilgrimage to Śāradā temple in the northern mountain ranges of Kashmir valley, he stayed for some time at Baramula in the shrine of *Śailaputri*. There he had the vision of a divine phenomenon which resulted in the realization of the universal aspect of his self and aroused in him a spontaneous flow of sweet and charming poetry in Sanskrit. Consequently he started writing the verses of an eulogy to Mother Goddesss. Such verses used to flow out of his speech without any effort on his part and in just a few days he wrote about seventy of them. He intended to write about twenty verses more just to offer to the Mother his worship in the order of sixteen types of service, known as *ṣoḍaśopacāra-pūjā*, and to conclude the hymn after the description of the last item. But Devakāk, a friend of the author, came from *Sādhu-mālyun* and persuaded him to visit that place. He agreed to it and went there. The natural flow of poetry stopped then and there and did not come again for decades. It was in 1972 when the writer of the work in hand suggested to him to conclude the hymn where the flow of poetry and stopped and expressed his interest in translating it into Hindi. He agreed and wrote the concluding verses and the translator translated it very soon. Shri Ravi Sharmā Trivedi edited it and published it in 1979 at Delhi. It was published again with an enlarged commentary by Sh. Ramānand Shāstri in 1980 at Jodhpur.

The poem is full of poetic beauty enriched by emotional prayers, figures of speech, proper selection of suitable words, expressions of intense devotion and highly developed poetic imagination. It expresses philosophic principles of Śaiva monism through a sweet medium of effective poetry and throws sufficient light on the secrets of the worship of the Mother Goddess conducted with the help of three *bijamantras* of Tantric Śaivism. Memory of *Kumāra-sambhava* of *Kālidāsa* and *Saundaarya-lahari* of Śaṅkarāchārya is roused in a reader while he goes through the verses devoted to the description of the beauty of the limbs of the Mother Goddess. As said in *Mālinī vijayottara*, a Yogin, having been blessed by God through the bestowal of His forceful grace, turns into a poet capable to compose beautiful poetry. Such a thing happened with Āchāryaji at the shrine of *Śaila-putrī* while composing Mandā-krāntā-stotra. The poem is interesting from the view points of poetry, religion, theology and philosophy and proves the Āchārya to be a great poet.

Ātma-vilāsa with Sundarī.

It is a work on pure philosophy and is written in *Kārikā* style in Sanskrit. It was composed by the Āchārya while staying in Kashmir in a village named Hwāl in Pulwāmā district in the year 1930 for the sake of a local pandit named Kaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa. It throws light on several basic philosophical principles of Kashmir Śaivism like theism, absolutism, monism etc., and develops the newly named principle of *vilāsa* or sportive luxuriousness of the absolute reality. It deals with the metaphysical problems of monism with the help of the principles of absolutism and relativity resorted to in discussions on it and expressions of it. Throughout all the chapters of this work, the author criticises the Vedāntic theory of *Vivarta* as unsatisfactory and established the principles of *Vilaāsa* or sportive Godhead. It contains many such new philosophic ideas for which the term Neo-Śaivism is being coined to denote the philosophy of Āchārya Amrtavāgbhava.

The author delivered a few lectures in Hindi to his Panjabi disciples in order to explain to them the Śanskrit *Kārikās* of *Ātmavilāsā* in 1993 and one of them, named Labhurāma of Nālāgarh, noted down the lectures and such an explanation of Ātmavilāsa was named as *Sundari. Ātmavilāsa* with such *Sundari* was published at Amritsar in the year 1936. Shrī Peetha, a research society established by the Āchārya in 1972, brought out its second edition with some foot notes and a detailed glossary of technical terms in 1982.

Mahānubhava Śakti Stotra

It is a brief hymn which depicts the essence of the five primary divine powers of God and eulogises them as symbolic divine mother goddesses. It can be thus classed with both religion and philosophy. It was composed in 1935 and was published with a Sanskrit commentary and Hindi translation in 1957.

It is a small work of high merit on pure philosophy containing some elements of Neo-Śaivism. It was composed in 1951 at Bharatpur for the sake of Mishra Govinda Sharmā and was published in 1959 with two commentaries in Sanskrit and one in Hindi. Some very subtle principles of Neo-Śaivism have been discussed in it very briefly.

Siddha-Mahārahasyam

It is an extensive work in eight chapters written in Sanskrit *Kārikās* and bears a brief commentary in Hindi. The commentator added one more chapter to it as *khila* or addendum in the same style. The *Śāka* principle of Neo-Śaivism finds a detailed expression in this philosophic work. One of its chapters is devoted to several practices in Yoga. The Śāmbhava Yoga, as taught to the author by sage Durvāsas has been expressed in detail in that chapter. The last chapter of the work describes in detail most of the divine visions and some semi-divine discourses which the author had at different places as the results of his regular practice in Śāmbhava-Yoga. The Khiḷa chapter also describes one such vision. The work was completed in 1963 and published through the encouragement from M.M. Gopinātha Kavirāja in 1966 at Vārāṇasi. Its second edition, along with a Hindi translation and notes, was published by Shreepeetha in 1983. His works on religious matters are listed below.

Amṛtastotra-Saṅgṛaha

The Āchārya, while visiting Hardwar area of U.P., Kashmir Valley and Kāṅgṛā area of H.P., wrote several stotras eulogising Lord Śiva, Mother Goddess, Lord Kṛṣṇa, *Sri* Rāma and Hanumān at different times and different places. A collection of such hymns, was made by Shri R.L. Agrawal. The collection, along with a translation into Hindi, was published in 1983 at Delhi by the Vidvad Varakala Shri Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Dhārmika Samsthān under the title Amṛtastotra-saṃgraha.

Paraśurāmastotra

A hymn eulogising Paraśurāma was composed by the Āchārya in 1932 on the occasion of Paraśumajayanti at Mattan (Mārtaṇḍa Kṣetra) in Kashmir. The priests of the *Kṣetra* Performed a *Puraścaraṇa* of the stotra and they believed afterwords that it was such performance which saved the *tīrtha* from the attacks and distrubances instigated and organized by some communal public leaders of Anantnag in the summer following the function. The Stotra, with a Hindi translation by the author, appeared in print three times since then. The last edition was published in 1957.

Paraśiva-Prārthanā

It consists of only one verse in *Śikharṇi* metre and was composed at Nālāgarh in 1933. After writing it down the author thought that the compound word, *baddhādarakaram* was incorrect. Being an adjective of *nijatanayam* it should have been *ādara-badha-karam* but that would not fit in the metre. So he decided to make some correction it, using some other words in place of the wrong compound word. But lo ! What happened as soon as the author completed his evening prayer on that day? A divine being, looking like a sage, appeared before him in the room and, prohibiting any change in the words of the verse, asserted that the verse was not incorrect. As for the above mentioned compound word,

he advised to take it as an adverb and explained it this way: *Baddhādarau karau yasmin karmaṇi yathā syātāṃtattā* and as soon as the author felt satisfaction about it, the divine being disappeared. The author mentions this episode in Siddha-mahā-rahasya as well as in an edition of the prayer which was published several times since then as the author felt that its composition was the result of some divine inspiration and took it to be a divine *mantra*.

Sapta-Padī-Hṛdayam

It is a small work in Sanskrit verse throwing light on the significance of the rite of *Saptopadī* in Hindu marriage. It was composed in 1939 and was published subsequently at Bharatpur. It's second edition was published with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindi translation in 1962 at that very place. It clarifies at length the significance of each word to be used on each of the seven steps in accordance with the *Gṛhyaśitras.* It can be conveniently used at marriage ceremonies for the benefit of the couples to be married.

The Āchārya composed several works describing his visions of and discourses with some divine and semi-divine beings and three out of such works have appeared in print as separate booklets, while some other such works of smaller size are included in his *Siddhamahārahaṣyam.* The three booklets are:

Sañjivanī-Darśnam

It was composed at Kulgam in Kashmir while the author was staying there with the writer of the work in hand for sometime in 1962. It was was published with a translation in Hindi at Baharatpur in 1963. It describes the accounts of the pilgrimage of the author to *Maṇikarṇa* in the Beas Valley of Himāchal. The descriptions of vallies, streams, springs, hills etc., on the banks of Beas and Pārvati, are very beautiful and interesting. He stayed at Maṇikarṇa for a few days and was caught by malaria fever that started to attach him after every third day. He used to take rest for two days and walk back third day. He used to take rest for two days and walk back towards the planes for two days. Thus he reached a place known as Sultānpur in Kulū. There the fever attacked him very severelly right from early morning. Lo ! What happened ? While he was lying alone on a mat in a *dharamashāla,* three divine beings with beautiful forms, dressed well in divine cloths, putting on beautiful shoes and holding small cane staffs in their hands, appeared in the south on his left side and a saintly looking divine being, holding a trident and a water-pot in his hands, appeared in the north on his right side. The latter gave him some nectar-like water to drink and imparted to him a divine *mantra* that conquers death. The author continued repeating the mantra without any break up to the dusk. All the four divine beings continued to stand by for the whole day. The parties looked at each other but did not have any conversation. At the time of dusk both the parties slipped away slowly in their respetive directions without turning about and lo ! the Āchārya felt himself as freed from the killing high fever.

The author narrated such account to the writer of these lines and, on his request.

noted it down in beautiful Sanskrit verse under the title '*Sañjivan-darśanam*' It is a beautiful poem.

Deśika Darśanam

It is another such poem which was composed by the author in 1962 at Kulgam in Kashmir. It describes the vision of sage Durvāsas which the author had at his ancestral home at Vārāṇsi in 1920 when he was sixteen plus in age. In such meeting with the sage he got initiation from him in the highest type of Śāmbhava-Yoga. The descriptive poem appeared in print in 1983 alongwith the new edition of *Siddhamahārahasya*, both tthe booklets being bound together as one volumes.

Siddha-Mānaava-Darśanam

A siddha in human form met Śri Āchāryaji in 1930 in the lower compound of the shrine of Mother Śārikā at Srinagar and had a discourse with him on the verse of *Pañcastavī* starting with the words 'Māyā-Kundalinī' etc. The Siddha, named Śivaji, clad as a Kashmiri Pandit and speaking in Kashmiri tone, became desirous to rouse in Āchāryaji the exact significance of the verse concerned. For such purpose he lead him to a house in the interior portion of the old city and advised him to come there next day. Āchāryaji marked the house and the small lane and came next day with the help of such marking and had a long meeting with Śivaji who, casting a fixed gaze on him through an attitude of graciousness, roused the *Kuṇḍalini* power in him and brought about in him the blissful experience of its movements, both upwards and downwards, turn by turn, through the six vital nerve centres inside the spinal cord. It continued for a long time and came to a close only when Śivaji removed his gaze from Āchāryaji.

In the views of the writer of these lines, it was kind of *Veddhadikṣā* which Śivaji conducted with respect to Āchārya ji. After few days he Achārya came to see Śivaji again, knocked the outer door of the compound and called for Śivaji again and again in a loud voice, but there was no response from within the house. The neighbours came out and told Āchāryaji that the house had remained uninhabited for the last several years and no Śivaji lived there. He could not find any clue to that Śivaji or his where-abouts anywhere in the city and did not see him again. The poem describing such episode was composed by the author in 1963 and it appeared in *Śodha-prabhā*, the magazine of the Lal Bahādur Shāstri Sanskrit Vidyāpeeṭha, Delhi, in 1978.

Amṛta-Sūkti-Pañcāśikā

Sri Āchāryaji expressed in Sanskrit verse his views on timely topics at different occasions and these were published by him in different issues of Sri Svādhyāya, a quarterly Hindi journal published by Svāḍhyāyasadan, established by him at Solan in Himachal Pradesh. Fifty verses were afterwards slected from them in 1953 and published at Pune in 1973 along with a Sanskrit commentary under the title Amṛtasūkti-Pañcāşikā. The poem described man things of religious, philosophical social and political character. The criticism of the prevalent political system of India, as contained in it, is remarkable.

Sri Āchāryaji composed several works on political science and some poetical works as well. An introduction to them is also given below:

Rāṣṭrāloka

Sri Āchāryaji wrote a few works on the right politics, worthy to be owned according to his integral view of life. In 1933 he wrote a small but highly valuable work in Sanskrit Kārikās under the title Rāṣṭrāloka. It was published in 1934, republished with a Hindi translation in 1947 and reprinted in 1948. The small work is meant to point out to the nation as to what kind of national politics, in keeping with the worthy ancient traditions based on Indian view on life, should we adopt in the present age of science and technology. It deals with several topics of politics and administration from the view point of religion and philosophy.

Rāṣṭra Sanjivana Bhāṣyām

It is a detailed Sanskrit commentary by the Āchārya himself on his own *Rāṣṭrāloka* and is one of his most important and valuable works. It presents an integral study of spiritual philosophy and actual politics and aims at their mutual synthesis. Like Bhagavadgītā it synthesises both such aspects of the problems of life. It is preserved in manuscript from and is yet to be printed, translated and explained in Hindi which means a colossal task.

Saṅkrāntī Pañcadaśī

It is a poem written in lyrical style and depicting the character of the right and desirable socio-political revolution that can lead the nation towards proper attainment of all the four aims of life. It is in fact a charming piece of Sanskrit poetry. It was composed in 1946 and was published with verse and prose translation into Hindi in 1970.

Varakala vamśa-Caritam

Shri Āchāryaji composed a lengthy work in Kāvya style on the history of his ancestors, near relatives, teachers, friends etc. under the title *Varakalavamśa-Caritam*. It is lying in manuscript form. If published, it could provide sufficient information regarding many Sanskrit scholars of the past one hundred years. The personal history of Āchāryaji is also a part of this poem.

Other works

He wrote a few short poems on topics like a letter to his ungrateful friend, a message to one so near in relation to him and so on. His short stories, providing correct information about the lives of certain saints, appeared in different issues of Śrī Svādhyāya. Description of some of his own experiences, which he had when he was a child, did also appear in Śrī Savādhyāya and so did his articles on higher philosophy which appeared

in several issues of the magazine under the heading "Vastu-Sthiti Kyā hai." Besides he wrote a few *pṛaśasṭis* in Sanskrit verse and one written in honour of M.M. Gopinath Kavirāj on the occasion of his birthday at Vārāṇasī is highly remarkable among them. In addition he wrote ghazals in Urdu and translations of some Persian verses into Sanskrit verse. When working at Sarasvatibhavan Library of the then Queen's Sanskrit College, Benaras, he edited several works like *TripurāRahasya*. Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava transcended to the abode of Siddhas in 1982 and three boards are carrying on his mission at present.

3
The Aghoraśiva

Aghoraśiva's doctrine is radically different from some of these theologies, like the Nondualist Vedānta, whose thinkers postulate a unique ultimate reality, the undifferentiated Brahman, substrate of a superposed illusion, the world,. Their ontology does not allow any reality outside the undifferentiated Absolute. Then there are theologians, within the fold of Śaivism, such as Śrīkumāra, Śrīkaṇṭha, and Śivāgrayogin, who use a difference-in-Identity model and view reality as bipolar. They bridge the changeless asbolute and the changing phenomental world by means of emanations. At the same time they unanimously reject, though not always consistently, the doctrine of Transmogrification propounded by the Nondualist Vedāntins.

The shared issue between Aghoraśiva and these Śaiva theologians is the preservation of the transcendent from the taint of the phenomenal. However, Śrikumarāś conception of emanation within Śiva frustrates the very purpose for which these emanations take place—the plunge of the transcendent into the phenomenal. To maintain the integrity of transcendence, Aghoraśiva borrows the Sāṅkhya model of difference, and strictly reinforces its principles that self-differentiation is possible only in unconscious substances and not in the conscious (Śiva). He also adopts the logistics theory that whatever is composed is an effect; and that the effect has an intelligent cause which does not in any way share its characteristics. Thus, having demonstrated the untransformable transcendence of the Conscious by Śāṅkhya principles, ahd having subjected inconscient Matter to the causality of God through Logicist principles, Aghoraśiva goes on to assert his own position of the inner duality of the Supreme Śiva, the Godhead known in its absolute aspect as Energiser and in its relative one as Energy.

All the divine activities are for the sake of the conscious beings—the Beasts—whose powers are eternally engulfed by the Infinitesimal Pollution. When liberated from it, they reach a state equal to Śiva's and forever enjoy their own powers. We shall examine these points in the following pages.

Monist Models

Identity: Transmogrification

The theology of Identity is dominated by the grand insight of the ultimacy of the

self. To make this insight possible, it employs a complex dialectic which dispels all notion of difference. And to resolve the problem of difference, Nondualism makes use of Buddhist epistemological distinctions, as between the two levels of truth, the absolute and the relative, proposed by the Vacuists or Mediatists (Mādhyamikas); or between the three levels, absolute, pragmatic, and illusory, advanced by the Idealists (Vijñānavādins). Difference is said to belong to the lower level of levels, and Identity to the higher.

Gauḍapāda (ca. 640-690), the founder of the Nondualist schools, professed to see this doctrine in one of the Hindu texts of Revelation, the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad. His follower, Śaṅkara (first half of the eighth century), made an attempt to elicit the same doctrine from the Aphorisms of the Brahman (Brahmasūtra) of Bādarāyaṇa.

The metaphysics for the doctrine of the ultimacy of the self was borrowed from the Sāṅkhya's Spirit-Matter polarity. Spirit was reduced to a unique being, the Brahman, and the very real Sāṅkhya Matter was transformed into a sort of phantom, for it was affirmed to be neither being nor non-being. Hence the basic categories of Identity theology are the Self and the non-Self, the latter is superposed on the former, giving rise to an illusory multiplicity, caused, as it seems, by the transformation of the self.

For most Nondualists, however, this transformation—contrary to what the non-idealist difference-in-Identity theologians unanimously affirm—is not real, but only illusory; hence what we may with more propriety call a Transmogrification. In fact, causality itself is not more than an appearance. In the words of the Nondualist Vedāntin, Prakāśātman (975):

Some hold that the Brahman Himself is transformed into the shape of the world, as clay into the shape of a pot. The Teacher Padmapāda rejects this theory in the words "The world is (the Brahman) transmogrified." Transmogrification is the appearance, in multiple and unreal forms, diverse from the primordial one, of a being that has not lapsed from it nature.

The notion of Transmogrification can be criticised in at least three ways; through inference, Scripture and experience. If the world is unreal, the inference runs, a relation between the real and the illusory itself becomes false. As for Scripture, some of its passages speak of the world's nothingness without the Brahman; but others declare the reality of the world. Hence, for a proper understanding of Scripture, both kinds of texts should be taken into account. In experience, too, the Vedānta concept of the world is untenable, for as Śrikumāra notes, oar senses as well as our reason cannot justify that the world is unreal. Aghoraśiva also considers Transmogrification illogical,"because the world, established by all norms, is not unreal, but would be if it were (consciousness) transmogrified."

Difference-in-Identity: Transformation

The model of Difference-in-Identity is followed by many Śaiva thinkers for whom the problem, in specific terms, is whether Śiva is only the efficient cause, or both the efficient and material cause of the world. But if, following difference, we assert that He is only the efficient cause, what then is the materials cause of the world? Weshall examine

this problem as discussed by three Śaiva monists: Śrikumāra, Śrikaṇṭha, and Śivāgrayogin. But before we proceed to do that, we might ask ourselves why the relationship of the world's material and final causes—in particular their identity or difference—presented such a problem. The answer can only be that the Upaniṣads, so fundamental in the development of Hindu thought, unhesitatingly pronounced the relationship to be one of Identity, in difference.

The Vedic Revelation, which the Śaiva monists accept as being in harmony with their Āgamas, contains the following statements about the Brahman and the world, among others: "Creative power is nature, and He who possesses it is the mightly Lord." "That from which (all) beings are born, by which once born, they live, into which they enter when they die,... that is, Brahman." These statements are explicated by analogies. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad says: "From a blazing fire sparks similar in nature issue forth in thousands; similarly, many kinds of beigns issue forth from the immutable and they return thither." And the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad: "As a spider emits and reabsorbs (its threads)...as plants grow upon the earth as hair (grows) on the body and head of a living man...so does every thing on earth arise from (this) Imperishable."

The question which concerns the generality of the Siddhānta thinkers is, do these scriptural references and analogies suggest the identity of Śiva and the world? Does the expression "He desired: may I become many?" (Chand. Up. 4.2.3.) echoed in all of the above references, imply that Śiva is at once the world's material and efficient cause ?

Let us first take Śrikumāra, the most important for our purpose, of our three theologians. That "everything is Rudra" appears to be his basic conviction. In his The Lamp of Meaning (Tātparyadīpikā), he argues that Master, Beast and Bond are ultimately one. Proof of this tenet are the Upanisadic expressions "All is Brahman" and "one who sees this (*i.e.*, being is Self), does not see pain, illness or death. One who sees this, sees everything, and obtains everything everywhere" (Chānd. Up. 7.26.2; 6.1.4). The following analogy confirms the above pronouncements: "From a lump of earth, the one earth is known; from one artefact of gold, all gold is known. Even so, there is one Rudra in many states" (Chānd. Up. 1.6.6).

For Śrikumāra, Scriptural authority takes precedence over logic or experience, the two other norms of knowledge. He asserts this in answer to the objection that the thesis of the unity of reality is contyradicted by experience. Śrikumāra answers that "Revelation is a more potent means to the knowledge of truth than experience. Experience is feeble; Revelation is a more compelling authority." Following the Ritualists, Śrikumāra callds the Vedas infallible, since defect or flaw is not innate to the Word they embody. Scriptural testimony, therefore, overrides the feebler one of experience. Revelation declares that Śiva is one (advitiya), that he is the essence of everything, and asserts the salvific fruitfulness of the knolwedge of the oneness of Śiva and the soul. In this manner, Śrikumāra buttresses the Āgamas with the Vedas.

Śrikumāra goes on to discuss the problem of materiality as affecting Śiva. He says: "from the Śvetāśvatara we gather Rudra's omni-essentiality." Anticipating, as it were, one of Śaiva dualists' chief objections that such a Lord would be inconscient,

Śrikumāra exclaims:: "Not so, because Revelation affirms His conscient nature." The traditional texts, too, speak of everything possessing the essence of Rudra through the work of the Embodier-Body relationship.

The co existence of the unique Brahman with finite beings, some of which are unconscious, is a problem which was dealt with by thinkers before Śrikumāra's time. For instance, Rāmānuja adapting the Ancient Vedānta elaborated by Bodhāyana, the chief interpreter of Bādarāyaṇa's thought, used the concepts of body (śarira) and embodier (śaririn) or attribute and subject to explain such a co existence. In his Exposition on the Aphorisms on the Brahman, Rāmānuja indicates his understanding of the concept of attribute (exemplified in blueness) and subject (in lotus):

> There is no contradiction between a thing being blue and its being a lotus; not any more than there is between a man (carrying a stick) and the stick itself or than there is between the colour, taste, smell, etc., of the same thing (I. 3. 13)

In the same Exposition Rāmānuja explains his theory of embodier and body:

> Embodied as the mass of all conscious and unconscious beings that subserves His cosmic play, He becomes the soul of that body. Then (at dissolution)—through the successive regression of Matter's evolutes, the Elements, Egoism and Instinct (into Prime Matter itself)—the universe that has become His body survives as an unconscious substance, extremely subtle, known as Darkness. With this body of Darkness, now arrived at a state of subtlety so extreme that it can hardly be called different, the Supreme Brahman attains a condition of oneness. (Later, at the time of creation) He conceives the thought "Let me become the world-body, composed of conscious and unconscious beings, differentiated, as previously, in conceptual and corporeal fashion"—and then transforms Himself, in His world-body, through entering one evolute after another. This is the doctrine of transformation in all the Upaniṣads.

For Śrikumāra, as for Rāmānuja, Śiva is both the efficient and material cause of the world. As Embodier, the Supreme Lord is the efficient cause, and as Body—the māyā śarira—He is the material cause. This conclusion is reinforced by the Upaniṣadic text: "Where these beings originate from; in which once originated, they live; into which, on dying, they dissolve—try to know it, it is Brahman."

The distinction between the Embodier and the Body further leads Śrikumāra to observe that the Ultimate Reality, though sexless, is best understood through a symbolic sexual differentiation. The Embodier consists of the Energiser (śaktimat) and Energy (śakti). Energy, the Great Goddess, is the beloved of Energizer, the Great God. He bestows grace on the creatures through Her, since there is no grace without the Goddess. She is, besides, the Mother of the world. There is an identity in difference between God and Goddess; as the Śaiva Mystery says: "Unity of being belongs to Śiva and His Energy, as in a gem and its glow."

An important point in Śrikumāra's teaching of the oneness of the Ultimate Reality is that there is a threefold distinction within it, formed of the Triad of Categories. Supreme knowledge can only be the knowledge of this coincidence of difference in Identity. But

why must we suppose this Triad to exist? Śrikumāra replies that if Beast (paśu), that is, the soul in transmigration (saṃsāra), were not accepted, transmigration itself, characterised by the polarities of good and evil, birth and death, pleasure and pain would lack a subject; so would its cessation. Moreover, the content of Revelation, Tradition, the Epics and the Purāṇas would be devoid of object. The Bond (pāśa) is the source of transmigration, and is constituted by factors such as Pollution, Karma, the Mirific Power and bodies. Were all these to be non-existent, there would be no sojourn in heaven nor hell, neither would there be birth or death. The inactive soul by itself could not be the cause of such activities. Similarly if Master were not to exist there would be no question of creation, preservation or destruction; of law or lawlessness; or of bondage and liberation. The souls, lacking as they do omniscience and bodies, would be incapable of all this. Hence, concludes Śrikumāra, the postulation of the Triad of Categories is unavoidable in all doctrines.

This Triad becomes differentiated from the one reality through limiters. As the Śaiva Mystery, in words recalling the ideas of Vallabha, declares:

> All of Śiva's essential attributes shine in their fullness in the Master. Only some do in the Bond; and all are concealed in the Beast.
> Śrikumāra's attempt to reduce the Siddhānta categories of Master, Beast and Bond to an ultimate unitary principle was rejected by the Śaiva theologians, dualist or monist, who followed him. But where Śrikumāra failed, Śrikaṇṭha succeeded.

Śrikaṇṭha's philosophy can be defined trichotomously or causally. Trichotomously it is a variety of the Difference-in-Identity model, known as Śaiva Nondualism (śivādvaita), itself patterned or Rāmānuja's Qualified Monism (viśiṣṭādvaita). Causally it is a variety of Transformationism (pariṇāmavāda), and is termed the Incomparable Transformationism (apūrvapariṇāmavāda) just as Vallabha's version of the doctrine, for instance, is named the Untransforming Transformationism (avikṛtapariṇāmavāda).

In Śrikaṇṭha's version of Qualified Monism Śiva, the substance (viśeṣya), is inseparably qualified (viśiṣṭa) by His attribute (viśeṣaṇa), the material cause. As the soul is born with the body and dies with it, Spirit, the efficient cause, remains immutable, while the Mirific Power, the material cause, undergoes change. As from the state of childhood a person passes over into youth, the Brahman passes from causal form into that of effect. The Śvetāśvatara says: "Know the Mirific Power to be the material cause, and the Supreme Lord as the wielder of that Power." But as the Mirific Power is not distinct from the Supreme Lord, the world's material cause is that Lord Himself.

Śrikaṇṭha does not identify Śiva and the world, at least, not in the same sense; he asserts them to be simultaneously present, different though they are in quality of existence, the one being conscious, and the other not. "It is not possible for hair, nails etc.," Śrikaṇṭha argues:

> to grow from the body alone, in the absence of the soul, though they have nothing in common with the soul. Even if a non-intelligent effect be conceived as identical with a non-intelligent cause, the presence of intelligence is necessary to bring

about the transformation of the one into the other. This observed fact co-operating with Śruti establishes firmly the doctrine that the Brahman is the cause of the world.

The distinction between qualified and quality is causally justified by Śrīkaṇṭha's Incomparable Transformationism, where Śiva, the unchanging, is qualified by the transforming Mirific Power or Intelligential Energy (citśakti). As the change is said to occur only in the latter, Śiva Himself never becomes subject to the limitations of the world. Appaya Dīkṣita (c. 1520-92), Śrīkaṇṭha's chief expositor, but himself a Nondualist, finds the theory unsatisfactory. For when the world evolves from the Mirific Power, reasons Appaya, the latter either remains unchanged—in which case the evolution is only illusory, hence a Transmogrification (the Nondualist doctrine); or else it changes, thus undergoing a genuine Transformation—in which case the Brahman will have to change too, wholly identical as It is with the evidently changing Mirific Power.

We now come to Śivāgrayogin, who endeavoured to give a monist image to a dualist Siddhānta. With his own conception of Change (vṛtti), he attempted to reconcile the Scriptural texts which speak of Śiva as the material cause and those which refer to Him as unchanging.

There are at least four ways of viewing the concept of change—origination (ārambha), as when threads change into a cloth; transformation (pariṇāma), as when milk changes into curd, the properties of the two not being identical; combination (samudāya), as when grains are amassed in a heap; and change of state (avasthā-viśeṣa), as when a rolled cloth is unfolded into a tent. Śivāgrayogin follows the last interpretation in relation to change (vṛtti) affecting Śiva as the cause. Thus, he speaks of Śiva's exteriorisation and retraction as He undergoes these changes of states.

Both Śiva and the Matter He controls are material causes of the world, their joint effect—Śiva in the desire to manifest His qualities, and Matter, insofar as the physical transformation of its inconscient substance is concerned. But as Śiva in Matter's controller, He excels in the aspect of efficient causality. Smoke, to take an example, is an effect conjointly produced by wet fuel and fire, but it assimilates only the dark pigmentation of the fuel, not the luminous quality of the fire. Similarly the world, jointly produced from the material causes, Śiva and Matter, does not possess the conscious and blissful essence of the former, but only the inertness, illuminability and changeable nature of the latter. It cannot be argued that the fire is no more than the smoke's efficient cause, its sole material cause being the wet fuel, because smoke participates in the quality of heat which derives only from the fire.

As will have been noticed, all this ingenious reasoning does not identify fire with fuel or Śiva with Matter. The Siddhānta thus continues to be a doctrine of Difference, as Aghoraśiva wished to be. Śivāgrayogin also seems to respect the principle Aghora employed to ensure that the Siddhānta would remain dualist—that change can take place only in the unconscious. Yet some sort of change—apparent or real—occurs in Śiva too. If it is only apparent, Śiva's unchangeability will have been preserved, but this material causality will have been rejected. If it is real, He will have earned His title to material

cause, but will have ceased to be the Siddhānta's changeless Master. The example of fire and fuel seems to be irrelevant, for they share the same inconscient nature. What is at issue here is whether a changeless conscious substance can combine with a changing inconscient one to produce an inconscient effect.

DUALIST MODELS

Sāṅkhya

The Sāṅkhya system is commonly accepted as the first rationalistic synthesis of ideas deriving from the Upaniṣads. Some of the more basic ones are that the Self (ātman) is at once the immutable reality and the source of the sentient and insentient beings. The unitary reality was divided by the Sāṅkhya thinkers into the unchaning, conscious and static Spirit (puruṣa) and the changing, unconscious and active Matter (prakṛti). The principle for this division was that what transforms cannot be conscious, and what is conscious cannot transform? Consequently, since there was nothing inherently common between Spirit and Matter, they were regarded as the two ultimate categories of existence.

The Sāṅkhya's central teaching is set forth in the first three verses of Iśvarakṛṣṇa's Explicative Verses on Sāṅkhya (Sāṅkhya-Karikā).

1. Assailed as we are by the triple sorrow (internal, external and superhuman), we desire to know if the means exist to counteract it. 'It this desire not futile, since we see that such means exist?' No, those means are neither guaranteed nor absolute.

Note: Human existence in the world is characterised by suffering brought about by factors relating to the physical or mental make up of man himself, by factors coming from man's natural environment, and by factors coming form the forces of nature or the gods.

2. The means set forth in Revelation are like the obvious ones—impure, perishable and open to improvement. Another and more excellent means is the knowledge of the Volved, the Unevolved and the Knower (or Spirit).

Note: This suffering cannot be effectively removed except through discriminative knowledge (vijñāna); specifically, by knowledge of the following: 1. The Unevolved (avyakta)—i.e., "Primal Nature" or "Primal Matter" (mūla-prakṛti)—which is eternal and uncreated. 2. Evolved (vyakta)—*i.e.*, manifest world arising out of Matter. 3. Spirit, the Knower is-neither matter nor a transforming principles.

3. Prime Matter (the Unevolved) is not a transformation. The seven (evolutes), of which the Prodigious is the first (the others being Egoism and the Five Subtle Elements), are both transformed and transforming. The sixteen (the Five Gross Elements and the Eleven Faculties) are transformations only. Spirit is neither Matter nor a transformation (vv. 1-3).

Note: the "seven," the "sixteen", and the Unevolved are the twenty-four categories. Over against these stand Spirit (puruṣa) unconnected in any way with the twenty-four. All together, there are twenty-five categories in the Sāṅkhya system.

There are two fundamental tenets in the Sāṅkhya system which Aghora uses in his exposition of the categories: the first is the pre-existence of the effect (satkāryavāda); the second, the three Attributes of Matter-Brightness (sattva), Passion (rajas) and Darkness (tamas)—existing in a state of equilibrium prior to their manifestation in the evolutes (vv.9, 11-14).

The theory of the pre-existence of the effect asserts that the effect exists wholly in the cause, being only its transformation or a manifestation. In the worlds of Īśvarakṛṣṇa:

Nothing can be produced if non-existent; an effect is related to its cause; not everything conceivable is possible; a cause only produces something it is capable of producing; a cause is in essence the effect. For these reasons, an effect is existent (in its cause) (v.9).

In relation to the Attributes of Matter, Matter has two aspects, unmanifest and manifest; the former is uncaused, infinite, inactive and one; the latter is the opposite of these (vv. 10-11). For a determinate period these Attributes are continually in tension; the world evolves by their mutual interaction, the process of transformation being determined by the dominance of any one over the other two (vv. 12-13).

Iśvarakṛṣṇa explains the relation between Matter and Spirit: Thus from the connection (proximity) of Matter and Spirit, the evolutes appear as though conscious; and Spirit, innately indifferent, appears as an agent through the Attributes' activity (v.20).

There are two features which seem prominent in this relation—the causal efficiency of unconscious Matter, and the consciousness of the Spirit which renders a reflexive impetus to Matter (which consequently transforms from an unmanifest to a manifest state). The evolutes of the latter, in turn, serve Spirit's liberation (kaivalya), and then revert to their causal state.

The causal efficiency of unconscious Matter is explained through several examples. As the flow of milk from the udder of a cow nourishes the calf, so the unconscious material evolutes serve the liberation of Spirit (v.57). Or, as a magnet draws the iron filings to itself without a conscious agent's help, so the evolutes can function without an external agent. For the interaction between Matter and spirit, the example given is that of a blind and a lame man, each making up for what is wanting in the other? So the Spirit is able to see its goal, and Matter, to lead the Spirit to its goal (v.21).

The goal of the Sāṅkhya is the elimination of suffering. The world is an instrument helping Spirit attain discrimination, or salvific knowledge. But the man who possesses this "knowledge" nevertheless continues in the manifest world, because the latent impressions (saṃskāras) from previous experiences maintain his existence in the world until death, when he definitively attains Isolation (Kaivalya) (vv. 67-68).

We have seen that in the Sāṅkhya the Three Attributes exist in a state of repose

or equilibrium in the presence of an inactive Spirit. For the process of the emergence of evolutes to begig, this equilibrium has to be disturbed, for only then can the constituents interact. According to the Sāṅkhya's critics, this disturbance cannot be caused by Matter itself, for it is in a state of repose. Neither can the mere presence of the Spirit cause an agitation, for Spirit is inactive. It must therefore be their mutual interaction or interrelation, but their bondage would arise agin even when the spirit is released, as there would be nothing to stop the interaction from reoccurring. This would result in an endless cycle of bondage and release.

It the process has somehow started, Matter, which is unconscious, cannot be said to have a purpose; the examples which we have viewed above do not show how it does. An unconscious (dead) cow does not nourish a calf. A magnet, too, unless placed near the iron-filings by an intelligent agent, does not draw anything by itself. The analogy of the blind man and the lame man is not applicable because each has a definite purpose, and so-controls and leads the other towards the common goal. Thus, at best, Matter can account only for some movement, and not for an orderly process whose purpose is to liberate the Spirit.

From the point of view of Spirit, the doctrine of discriminative knowledge between itself and Matter implies a movement from a state of bondage, through the experience of the world, to a state of release or Isolation. If Spirit is inactive, or without any powers of its own, it is difficult to understand how such a change could take place within itself.

The above criticism demonstrates the need for an intelligent control of Spirit and Matter. As Aghoraśiva says: "Since the Sāṅkhyas conclude that the Attributes themselves constitute Matter, we, in order to invalidate their position, argue that as these Attributes are inconscient and manifold—as objects like pots are—there is need for another cause (that is the Attributes' foundation)." Thus any change can occur only through the control of a causal agent, who is distinguished both from Spirit and Matter, and who remains himself unchanged. Such is the solution proposed by Aghoraśiva. In his viw, the bound souls' association with the Infinitesimal Pollution (āṇavamala) obscures the natural powers of the soul, making them inoperative; but when the Pollution reaches maturity, Śiva awakens the soul to the spiritual reality and enlightenment. Through the association with Matter, the soul experiences the fruits of all its karma and gains the full use of its powers.

Nyāya or Logicism: Argument for God's Existence

Logicism, which proclaims salvation through clear reasoning, postulates a personally originant Revelation, with God as its author. To prove His existence it employs a complex instrument of reasoning, the Nyāya syllogism. With its aid, Logicism's greatest theologian, Udayana (975-1050) defended the doctrine of difference and the existence of God, against his major foes, the Buddhists. As will be noticed, Aghoraśiva employs one of Udayana's arguments for God's existence—that of proving the causing from the effect.

However, this argument can be demonstrative only if the difference of effect and cause is not called into question; and any doubts on the matter cannot be resolved if the validity of the concept of difference is itself disputed, as it was by the Buddhists. Udayana therefore engages in the defense of difference against the Buddhists, who argued that difference is not (a) an object's essence, (b) the reciprocal negation that exists between objects, or (c) a distinct attribute inherent in the object itself. In reply, Udayana queries:

> Are you meaning to imply that (1) the knowledge of Difference is non-existent; (2) if existent, is eternal; (3) if transient, is causeless; (4) if caused , is objectless; (5) if with object, then with an object capable of invalidation ?

Then he dismisses the first four alternatives summarily, examines the fifth, and so vindicates difference:

> What then is the truth about difference? Its three meanings (essence, reciprocal negation and distinct attribute), but in different aspects (If we now go on to correlate the three kinds of difference with the seven categories of Atomist theology, we will find that) the only kind possible to non-being is that of the difference in essence, because a separate non-being or a distinct attribute can have no existence in it. The categories of generality, particularity and inherence, cannot have the difference of distinct attribute. The remaining three categories, substance, quality, and activity, can have all three kinds of difference. Some examples: "This is a cloth, not a pot; it is made of threads. This is a smell, not a color; it is fragrant. This is motion, not upward propulsion, it is oblique."

Udayana proves the existence of the all knowing, imperishable God, in seven ways: From (1) effects, (2) atomic combinations, (3) the suspension and other states of the world, (4) the existence of human skills, (5) the existence of authoritative knowledge, (6) the existence of Revelation and (7) the numerical combination of atoms.

The first and most important argument from effects is: Things like the earth must have a cause. Because they are effects. Like a pot. By having a cause Udayana means active production by someone possessed of the intent to produce, and a direct knowledge concerning the matter from which the production is to be.

Aghoraśiva uses the above argument and shows that (1) the world, being an effect should have a cause, (2) the cause should be free from the limitations of the effect, and hence transcendent. This brings us to his doctrine of causality, which is only a critical application of the Sāṅkhya theory ot its monist interpretation by difference- in-Identity thinkers.

Aghora's Doctrine of Causality

The Siddhānta is a difference system, but, as we have often pointed out, its emanationist doctrine of the Five Pure Principles makes it intermediary between the other systems of Difference and those of Difference-in-Identity. The Siddhānta is thus in perpetual danger of lapsing into Difference-in-Identity monism, a danger that takes effect in the work of the Siddhānta monists. For them intra-divine emanation is only a

preparation for the divinity's lapse into the phenomenal, a lapse ruinous to the difference between God and the world. The Sanskrit systematicians of the Siddhānta difference school therefore endeavor to refute Difference-in-Identity before establishing their own doctrine of causality, claiming that it vilates the principles of contradiction. As Nārāyāṇakaṇṭha puts it:

> Just as the contradictories, being and non-being, are found in the soul as mutually cancelling, (so too) the simultaneous inherence of the innately conscious and unconscious is not possible in the Supreme Soul (without each cancelling the other). Which is why the noble Kheṭakanandan (also known as Sadyojyoti) says: Contradictory qualities, present at the same time, and situated in the same locus, bring about a cleavage in the soul through mutual destruction.
>
> Then Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha goes on ot enunciate the Sāṅkhya principle that change occurs only in the unconscious, and applies to the theologies of Difference-in-Identity: And neither can unconsciousness ever belong to Him, because of His impartite nature; for, were a partite nature to be conformable (to His being), He would be an effect—as are things like a wall and a storeroom—and His supreme causality would be void (since such causality, independent as it is of any cause, can never be an effect). Besides, whatever is a material cause is unconscious, as are clay and like substances. Material cause that He is, this supreme Lord (of the Vedāntins) is thus an unconscious being.
>
> 'Material causality is not His insofar as He has consciousness; He may yet be unconscious (in another aspect of His nature); What fallacy is there in that ?'
>
> The cause of conscious things is Himself unconscious—that is indeed strange talk ! Moreover, if unconsciousness is conformable (to His nature), He would possess no power to produce His own effect—like substances such as clay, which are subject to the control of agents endowed with intelligence.

With Difference-in-Identity refuted, and dfference or dualism proved, Aghoraśiva goes on to establish dualisms through the entire spectrum of reality, specifically, of three kinds—first, the ontologically dual structure of things; second, Śiva's dual energies, the Primordial and the Assumptive, and third, the dual material cause, Nucleus and the Mirific Power.

The Dual Structure of Things

A dual structure—the Absolute-Relative binary—permeates all existence. This can be shown by taking an instance each from the two main divisions of reality, the unconscious and the conscious. Fire, an unconscious object, is igneous in its absolute nature but has the function of burning when related to combustible objects, a function which is only latent in fire in the absence of the objects. Consciousness too can be considered absolutely as awareness *per se,* as existing independently of any objects capable of its notice; or relatively, as connected with an object through nothing or being conscious of it.

Belonging as it does to the essence of reality, this dual structure is found in the

Supreme Śiva, that is, in the Godhead Itself, in the binity of the Energizer-Energy, which may be described as the Divine Absolute-Divine Relative. Both Energizer and Energy have the same essence, a "mass of consciousness" that is "knowledge and action by nature."

Considered in itself, this essence is the Energizer; considered with reference to the phenomenal world, it is Energy, the Primordial Energy.

Śiva's Dual Energies

This Primordial Energy is of course inherent in the Godhead; Its transcendence preserves the latter from the taint of the phenomenal. Yet the Deity, sovereign and omnipotent that it is, cannot lack the power to act on the phenomenal. But neither can such power (and the Energy which it embodies) be in intimate contact with the Deity without sullying its essence. The power has thus to be external to Śiva, a power that He can "assume" and control; in short, the Assumptive Energy (parigrah-śakti). This is consequently a potency that is not inherent in Śiva, but adventitious.

It is thus through this Assumptive Energy that Śiva relates to Matter, the unconscious stuff of the universe. Matter, as we have seen, exists in two states, the unmanifest and the manifest. As related to unmanifest Matter, Assumptive Energy is the world's efficient cause; as related to manifest matter, it is the instrumental. As Aghora says, "It is only through the instrument in the form of Energy that Śiva becomes capable of the Fivefold Function in order that experience and liberation may result for souls."

This postulation of an adventitous Energy of Śiva's—consistent as it is with the principle that what is conscious cannot transform—preserves Śiva from the need to self-diversify in order to give rise to the cosmos. The Godhead is thus shown to be immune to change, but can it also be shown to be immune from contact with phenomenal impurity?

The Two Material Causes

It can, in Aghoraś view, through postulating the two spheres or Ways (adhva) of creation, the pure (śuddhādhva) and the impure (aśuddhādhva). The Great Mirific Power (mahāmāyā) or Nucleus (bindu) constitutes the former and the Mirific Power (māyā) the latter. Because of His purity, Śiva cannot directly operate on the Mirific Power but only on the pure Nucleus; through the latter's emanations, the Pentad or Five Pure Principles, He acts on the evolutes of the Mirific Power, which themselves originate through the superintendence of intermediary agents like the god Ananta. These agents are semi-liberated souls, or "angles," tainted with Superintendence Pollution (Adhikāra mala). They abide in the worlds pertaining to the pure emanations of Nucleus, and these are given illuminating experiences to help them overcome their Pollution.

The Great Mirific Power or Nucleus thus forms an order of reality that mediates between the emanation-free transcendence of the deity, and the impure emanations of the Mirific Power. Aghora found it a convenient category in which to install the Pentad, which he hurled from their divine eminence (if we may be permitted to use the metaphor) by his fulminations of the Sāṅkhya thunderbolt. But having been long accustomed to divine

dignity, they took long to reconcile themselves (if they ever did) to their new role of unconsciously evolving emanations. It will be recalled that their names—which clearly indicate their conscious nature—are Śiva, Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and Knowledge. How, for instance, can "knowledge" be justified as being something unconscious?

In answer to this seemingly unresolvable problem (not, to our knowledge, ever tackled by Aghora) some help was offered by Bhartṛhari's Sonic Absolutism (Śabdabrahmavāda) with its theory of the four modes of Sound (nāda). Śivāgrayogin explains it in some detail:

> Now the modes of Sound are fourfold—the Subtle (sūkṣmā), the Visioning (paśyanti), the Interjacent (madhyamā) and the Displayed (vaikhari). The speech subsisting entirely in knowledge and illuminating meaning in general is the Subtle. The speech capable of disclosing the peculiar (coalescence of) letters and meaning undifferentiated like (a peacock in) the liquid of a peacock's egg, is the Visioning. The speech formed of letters (now) arrived at the mind, which has entered into their sequence, but is yet beyond the reach of the forms of breath—that speech is the Interjacent. The speech made manifest through a form of breath, capable of disclosing the peculiar meaning graspable by the ear—that speech is the Displayed. it must be observed that the Subtle speech is the cause of the Visioning, the Visioning of the Interjacent and the Interjacent of the Displaying. These modes constitute the knowledge of the infinitesimal souls. The first-three exist interiorly; the last one exists outside. And these sounds are subtle in the Pure Path, coarse in the Mixed, and very coarse in the Impure.
>
> Now the Five Principles originating in the Nucleus are known as Śiva, Energy, the Ever-Beneficent, the Supreme Lord and Pure Wisdom...In the Śiva Principle inheres the form of Word known as the Subtle...The permutation of the Śiva principle is the Energy Principle: and it is where the form of Word termed the Visioning..abides. The permutation of the Energy principle is the Ever-Beneficent Principle; it is the sbustratum of the speech called the Interjacent. Therefore, the permutation of the Ever-Beneficent Principle is the Supreme Lord Principle. It is the cause of the body and the heavenly abode of gods like Anantesa (Lord of Eternity) and of the Infinitesimal Rudras (Howlers) who have arrived at his abode through rendering him homage. The permutation of the Supreme Lord Principle is the Wisdom Principle: it is the substratum of the form of word known as the Displaying...
>
> But others (Siddhāntins before Aghora) speak of a definition of the Five Principles originant in Śiva. (In their view the Five Principles subsist in the Supreme Spirit Himself. Of these) the exclusively knowledge-endowed principle subsistent in the Supreme Spirit is the Śiva Principle; the exclusively Activity-endowed principle so subsistent is the Energy Principle; the principle equally functioning in both is the Ever-Beneficent Principle; that furnished with greater Activity is the Supreme Lord Principle; and the one furnished with greater knowledge is the Wisdom Principle.

As there are only four modes of Sound, while there are Five Principles, the correspondence with one of the Principles has to be dropped, and is, as regards the third Principles, the Ever-Beneficent. This defect in systematic symmetry shows how unsuccessful the Siddhāntins were in resolving the anomaly caused by relegating the Five Pure Principles to the level of the Unconscious.

The Mirific Power (māyā) in Siddhānta theology stands for the material cause of the universe both corporeal and incorporeal. Māyā is a noun derived from the root mā meaning "to measure"; it has a dual meaning, one signifying art, artifice and such things; the other implying cunning, deceit, fraud or enchantment. Aghoraśiva employs both meanings and defines the Mirific Power as being "real in essence, root or material cause of the universe, and eternal. It breeds infatuation." The first part of the definition affirms the Mirific Power to be inert (jaḍa), unconscious, real, and pervaded by the will of an intelligent agent, Śiva. Śiva cannot be conceived as evolving the world out of nothing. There is need of a material principle which evolves and a conscious cause which makes that evolution possible. In Bhoja's words:

> There is no effect without an agent, nor yet without a material cause and instrument. Here His instrument are the Energies. His material cause is postulate to be the subtle Mirific Power.

The second half of the definition, that the Mirific Power breeds infatuation, is the basis for Aghora's postulation of a pure material cause (Nucleus) besides the impure Mirific Power. The latter by its very nature infatuates the individual subjected to the law of Karma; by means of its evolutes (such as body, the world and its objects) it causes the non-eternal, impure, painful and non-self to seem eternal, pure, blissful and self. But these evolutes also serve to partially unveil the Pollution-ridden soul by manifesting knowledge.

The union of the sould with these evolutes gives rise to experiences of pain which help to soul to articulate its Karma. For this reason, the Mirific Power is also considered a Bond. By association with Mirific Power Pollution (māyīya mala), the sould is ultimately freed of its Infinitesimal Pollution (āṇava mala).

The second half of the definition thus helps to accentuate rather than contradict the wondrous character of the Mirific Power, which becomes evident through the coincidence of opposites. Numerically it is one, yet from it emanate thirty categories each giving the soul a unique experience. It is eternal as the material cause of the world and yet its evolutes have a quality of transitoriness, when they are manifested at creation and merged at the dissolution. It is not inherently associated with Śiva and yet is His Assumptive Energy. It is subtle because it is formless and yet contains all visible forms. It accords with the Karma of all beings and yet helps the soul to experience all Karma. It deludes the soul by concealing the latter's true nature, yet it partially enlightens by revealing to the soul the knowledge of the objective world. All opposites harmonise in it because Śiva Himself is mysteriously present within its being.

The categories of the Siddhānta has two classes of categories (padārthas or

tattvas) or Principles, three eternal or primary, and thirty-six temporary, secondary or dependent (Ṣaṭtriṃśattattvāni). A Category or Principle may be defined as an objective reality whose production is ordered in a definite succession, which provides beings with experience, aids in the consummation of Karma, and endures till Dissolution.

The primary categories are, of course, Master, Beast and Bond. Master, as we have seen earlier, is eternally in union with Energy. Beast is the soul engulfed by Pollution. According to the degree of their bondage the souls are classed as Intelligence Deconditioned, Dissolution-Deconditioned, and Conditioned. They properly belong under the dependent Categories since, when conditioned by the Five Sheaths (pañcakañcaka), the soul itself receives the name Spirit (puruṣa). Bond is that which binds the soul, and is inconscient by nature. It consists of the Five Objects (arthaparicakau): the two material causes, Nuckus and Mirific Power, and the three Pollutions, Infinitesimal Pollution, Karma, and the Energy of Concealment. With the exception of the Mirific Power, none of these Objects is counted among the dependent Categories.

Karma, the individual's destiny, is the accumulated effect of one's past deeds. it determines the kind of experiences an individual goes through in life, and, through His own will, Śiva's Creative activity itself. Śiva creates the world—the evolutes of Mirific Power—with the appropriate bodies and means of experience according to the Karma of each soul. Karma is also an ethical principles; the belief that there is not ultimate escape from past deeds, good and bad, enables the sould to experience pleasure and pain, and thus seek to ride itself of the Infinitesimal Pollution. And on account of its binding effects, karma is itself regarded as a Pollution (karma-mala) TPV, 19).

The Energy of Concealment is one of the Energies which Śiva assumes when a particular function has to be performed for the liberation of Beast. Śiva's activities comprise the Five Cosmic Functions (pañcakṛtya) of creation (sṛṣṭi), maintenance (sthiti), dissolution (pralaya), concealment (tirodhāna) and grace (anugraha). The first three Functions are chiefly cosmological, as they condition the being of the cosmos; the last two are principally soteriological, as they relate to the liberation of the soul (TPV,7). As Hindu thought orients cosmology towards salvation, the first-three Functions can be said to be related to the last two as means to goal. They are thus described by Avadhūta, one of the Siddhānta's ancient masters, whose work seems to have been lost, save for the following lines:

> One of the powers of the Lord of inviolate pwer, unimpeded by the nets of your Bonds, fetters the self (the Knower of the field). Another of these powers, cutting through all the Attributes with the sword of knowledge, orients Spirit towards liberation.

The Dependent Categories and their Evolution

The secondary or dependent categories are thirty-six. They beging with Śiva, the first change of state that Nucleus undergoes when activated by the Supreme Śiva's Primordial Energy. Its function is to reveal the powers of knowledge and action to those who enter the Pure Sphere (śuddhạdhva), which comprises itself and the next Four

Principles of which it is the cause: Energy (śakti), the Ever-Beneficent (sadāśiva), the Supreme Lord (Iśvara), and (Pure)-Knowledge(vidyā). Energy arises when Śiva is desirous of favouring the bound souls so that the latter may have the necessary means to reap the fruits of their past deeds. As regards Śiva's Energies of Knowledge and Action, the above two categories possess them indeterminately. When these Energies are equally determinate in regard to creation and are in a perfect state of equilibrium, the ensuing category is called the Ever-Beneficent. This state gives place to a new combination wherein the Energy of Action prevails over that of Knowledge in order to arouse cosmic activity in its subtle form, so giving rise to its Supreme Lord Category. Next, when the Energy of Action is in abeyance and the Energy of Knowledge prevails, the Pure Knowledge Category originates: in it the souls first realise their all-knowing powers.

The beings who live in the Five Pure Principles, namely, the Lords of Knowledge, Wisdom, etc., have already obtained a lower liberation, that is to say, freedom from the triple Pollution. Principles are also the loci for the revealed knowledge contained in the Āgamas such as Kāmika, and of the four modes of Sound.

As Nucleus, the material cause of the Pure Sphere, of the Siddhānta's Categories is the first, the Mirific Power, the material cause of the Impure Sphere (aśuddhādhva), is the sixth. The thirty-six evolutes from Aptitude (kalā) to earth (prithivī) exist potentially in the Mirific Power at the universal dissolutiton (malāpralaya). The gross world comes into being when it is stirred into action through the energy of Ananta, the indirect causal instrument of creation.

In the logical order, the first evolute of the Mirific Power is the Time Category (kāla). The function of this is to divide the world into past, present and future. In the order of its function, however, time is to be counted after the ensuing Categories of Aptitude, Knowledge (vidyā) and Attachment (rāga). Necessity (niyati), Fate or Order is the second evolute. It helps each soul to reap its own karma. No other soul can enjoy or suffer the consequences of one's actions. The next three evolutes manifest partially the essential nature of the individual soul: The Aptitude Category partially removes the veil of Pollution which clouds the inherent powers of the soul. When the power of knowledge is thus manifested, the soul is further helped to comprehend the objects of the world by the Knowledge Category just as a path and a torch are provided for the person starting a journey. The comprehension of objects has to be followed by the arousal of desire without which no experience of the object is possible. This function is provided for the soul by the Category called Attachment.

The aggregate of the Five Principles, namely, Time, necessity, Aptitude, Knowledge and Attachment, is called the Five Sheaths. Moved by these, the soul receives the appellation "Spirit" (puruṣa)—an agent capable of experience. The expereince of the soul, however, is limited by the presence of hindrances such as ignorance (avidyā), egoity (asṃitā), attachment (rāga), identification (abhiniveśa) and aversion (dveṣa). These five constitute the impurity which occasions the five categories referred to as the sheaths.

When the soul has attained the status of an experience (bhoktṛtva), the Aptitute category manifeats its third evolute, the unevolved (auyakta). It is the cause of the three

Attributes, Brightness, Passion and Darkness which are in a subtle state. When the three Attributes become manifest, the Attribute Category (guṇa) comes into being. Their effects are respectively, light, activity and limitation, and also pleasure, sorrow and delusion. The Attributes dominate the soul's powers of knowledge, action and desire and direct its orientation. The predominant Attribute at a given moment determines the soul's experience of objects. For instance, when Brightness predominates, there is illumination and knowledge; when Passion predominates, desire and a sense of appropriation; and when Darkness predominates, distortion and deception.

From the triad of Attributes proceeds Instinct (buddhi) whose function is to apprehend objects in a determinate manner, and to serve as a substratum for latent impressions—the merits and demerits due to one's Karma. From Instinct evolves Egoism (ahaṅkāra), according to which Attributes predominate, is differentiated into vitality (jīvana), impetuosity (saṃrambha) and pride (garva); and also into the Fiery (taijasa), Modifying (vaikharī) and Elemental (bhutādi). The Mind (manas) and faculties of knowledge evolve from Fiery Egoism; the Faculties of Action, from the Modifying; and the five Subtle Elements and their effect, the five Gross Elements, from the Elemental.

Beast or Spirit

The Siddhānta has a twofold problem with regard to the soul, or Beast: to prove its existence against those who deny it; and against those who accept it, but describe its essence differently, to demonstrate the validity of its own description of that essence—which consists in establishing Beast as distinct from Master and Bond.

The most extreme form of the denial of the soul is that of the Buddhist Vacuists (śūnyavādins) or "Nihilists," for whom all essences especially the souls are "empty" (śūnya); or as "nothing" as their opponents choose to interpret Vacuism's key word, śūnya. These Buddhists, as most others, except perhaps the "Personalists" or pudgalavādins, break up the soul into the five component (skandhas), materiality, sensations, concepts, volitions and consciousness. None of these, they declare, can be identified with an immutable soul. Summarizing the Vacuist view, V. Bhattacharya says:

> Thus and in various other ways, too many to be mentioned, the existence of a permanent self or ātman, as accepted in other systems, was utterly denied by Buddha, thereby pulling down the very foundation of desire where it can rest.

According to the Siddhānta critique of Buddhist teaching the denial of the soul involves a contradiction, selfhood being implied in the very act of denying the self. As Descartes, from his cogito, ergo sum, concludes that only someone who exists can know that there is no existence, so too, the Buddhist "Nihilist" at first identifies "something" with the Components, and then knows that each of them is not that "Something," which is the "I," or the soul.

As for those who accept the soul's existence, many of them identify it with the Bond or Master. What the Buddhists seem to be doing, when denying the existence of the soul and splitting it into its components, is actually identifying it with what the Siddhāntins call Bond.

For Siddhāntins like Śivāgrayogin, living in an ambience where no Buddhists were to be found, and where the memory of their theological tradition had declined, their teaching could be interpreted to mean that the five sense organs constitute the soul. The senses cognise in the waking state, and cease to cognize in the sleep, in decay, and at death. Śivāgrayogin maintains that the sense organs, even if taken as an aggregate, cannot be the soul, because each can perceive only its proper object. The soul, on the contrary, should know all, even though in its present state of bondage it falls short of the full exercise of this all-knowing function. The internal organs such as the Instinct (Buddhi), Mind (Manas), too, cannot cognise each other, but associate themselves very intimately with the soul in the process of knowing. Like the lamp that aids the eye, they serve as means to know the intelligence of the soul itself. The same objection is valid for those views which take the body to be the soul. The aggregate of all constituents of Bond in the form of the Mirific Power (or Matter) also is not a competent subject for the soul. Being insentient, that Power undergoes transformation, while Spirit is conscious and hence not subject to internal change.

After showing that the function of the soul cannot be fulfilled by the Bond or any of its parts, the Siddhāntin shows that the soul differs from Śiva despite their common characteristic, consciousness. It might seem that to deny the identity of the soul with its bodily, mental and vital functions is to identify it with the eternal, immutable and omniscient Śiva Himself. However, the concepts of bondage and release, applicable only to the soul militate against such an identity. For though the souls are designated as Śivas they, as Aghoraśiva remarks,

> (are released) through that Supreme God's grace. (As for Him) He is the one eternally released being. Eternally released is He who is endowed with eternal, immaculate and unexcelled perfections grounded in His essence, and also with the Energies of Knowledge and Action."

The Siddhāntins all agree that the sould (Beast) is a sentient being whose powers of knowledge and action are beginninglessly obscured by Pollution. And it is precisely their concept of Pollution which seems to distinguish their defintion of the soul from the definitions of the other Indian schools. It also distinguishes the soul from Śiva who, being immaculate, releases the soul from bondage.

As for the soul's relation to Pollution, it has a triple grade—conditioned (sakala), deconditioned (akala), and unconditioned or immaculate (vimala). The sould is said to be Conditioned, when it is fettered by the triple Bond of Pollution, the Mirific Power, and Karma. It is Deconditioned when freed from one or two of these Bonds. When freed at Dissolution, from the Mirific Power (then reverting to its formless state) it is known as Dissolution-Deconditioned (pralayākala). When freed through Knowledge (Intelligence) from Karma's bonds as well, it is called Intelligence-Deconditioned (vijñānākala). When freed from all the bonds it is called the unconditioned, and thus arrives at the state of liberation, where all its powers are manifested, and its nature wholly freed (vimala) from Pollution's taint. The Svāyambhuva Āgama interprets the soul's triple grade somewhat differently, as pure, bound, and liberated a new through Initiation (punarmuktaśca dīkṣayā).

Infinitesimal Pollution

In our third main category, Bond, Pollution is the connate impurity which conceals the powers of knowledge and action inherent in the soul. Unique, yet endowed with many powers, it is capable of binding souls primordially, permitting one of them to be free and keeping the remainder in bondage. Unlike the Ignorance (ajñāna) of the Nondualist Vedānta, it is unequivocally a positive substance (dravya). It is natural to the soul, "just as the husk and rust are natural to rice and copper respectively through their eternal (or coincident) concealment." "Like a cataract in the eye," Pollution is insentient and can be removed, not by the mere dawn of knowledge, as in the Non-dualist Vedānta, but by the Energy of Śiva, known as Initiation or *dīkṣā*.

Through this doctrine the siddhānta challenges the Non-dualist Vedāntin's theory of the Self as Pure Consciousness, apparently, but not really, veiled by the beginningless Ignorance. What is in question here is whether the soul is immediately self-conscious? In the Siddhānta view its powers are really concealed and therefore inoperative, though uninterruptedly persisting in their conscious nature. The entire cosmic activity takes place because of the bound-state of the soul, which requires that it have the material means such as a body and senses for the removal of Pollution and the consequent manifestation of its own powers of knowledge and action.

Two main arguments highlight the need for the concept of Pollution. The first, discussed by Aghoraśiva, is that the soul is immaculate by nature and yet has a craving for experience (bhogalolikā). Were this craving, the cause of transmigration, to derive from the soul's nature, the soul would crave even in liberation, that is, not to be liberated at all. The craving must therefore originate outside the soul, in a substance capable of concealing the soul's innately immaculate essence and powers. This substance can be none other than the primordial and connate Pollution (mala). Aghoraśiva complements this argument by stating that Śiva is tranquil, meaning thereby that unlike the bound soul, He is free of desire and hatred, "because Pollution, their cause, is incapable of existing in Himself."

The second argument for Pollution is that without it the states of bound and liberated would be indistinguishable. As the soul is in essence omniscient, and omniscience is a factor in liberation, the soul, left to itself, would continue liberated. The soul it is true, is not liberated by essence, as is Śiva; but neither can it be liberated through the addition of something extraneous to its essence, for then, the liberated state would be accidental to the soul, and even when realized, could be lost. This difficulty is resolved by distinguishing between manifest (or actual) and unmanifest (or potential) liberation. The soul is said to be, by its essence, unmanifestly liberated.

What keeps the soul's liberation unmanifest can only be an extraneous factor, evidently Bond, which may either be the body, delusion and demerit, Karma, the Mirific Power or (infinitesimal) Pollution itself. But it cannot be the body, for in death as in

dissolution there is freedom from embodiment. it cannot be delusion or demerit, because these are dispositions of Instict. It cannot be one's Karma, because in dissolution the soul is disengaged from its karma. It cannot be the Mirific Power, because Mirific power is only an adventitious pollution. What remains, then, is the connate infinitesimal Pollution—an unconditioned obstruction the termination of which alone constitutes freedom and liberation.

Aghora's Doctrine of Liberation. The liberated soul's relationship with Śiva is one of the Siddhānta's central doctrines, and is differently explained by the system's gnostic and devotional schools. Aghoraśiva's own doctrine is that of Sadyojyoti, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and other Sanskrit Siddhānta systematicians, but is rejected by prominent thinkers of the Tamilian schools, as Śivāgrayogin for instance.

Aghoraśiva's doctrine is one of the four modes of the theory of Equality with Śiva—which is originant (utpatti), pervasive (saṅkrānti), penetrative (samāveśa) and manifested (abhivyakti). Originant Equality, advanced by the Great Vow-Holder Sect, means that equality with Śiva originates at the moment of liberation. Pervasive Equality, the view of the Monist Pastoralists, signifies that the divine qualities like omniscience pervade the soul at liberation as the fragrance of sandal does cloth. Penetrative Equality, the opinion of the Skullmen, means that the same qualities possess or penetrate souls as spirits possess or enter men. Manifested Equality, the doctrine of the "partial" Śaivas, signifies that these qualities, long latent due to the power of the Infinitesimal Pollution, become manifest at liberation.

This is Aghoraśiva's teaching, and it is drawn from the Mṛgendra Āgama and its commentary (vṛtti) by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha:

THE ĀGAMA

In the Śaiva doctrine the Accomplished One shines at the head of the others; in creation the liberated and most excellent man does not proceed down below. Controlling all his interests by his own power, he is forever unagitated by the All Master.

NĀRĀYAṆAKAṆṬHA

In this sacred science (the Siddhānta) the (blessed or) Accomplished (siddha) one attains a multiple power proportionate to the various heavenly worlds, shares in their delights, and becomes endowed with every excellence. Which is why the revered teacher Bṛhaspati says:

> The incomparable, imperishable and inconceivable greatness that is in the Supreme Śiva—that same greatness is in the blessed being who has destroyed the multitude of his bonds.

You cannot argue that the liberation of the soul has the same character in the other systems too—a liberation (that takes forms) like the extinction of (individual) consciousness through realizing absorption into the Brahman (as the Vedāntins believe), or like the

discrimination between Matter and Spirit (as the Sāṅkhyas maintain). For in this system—the control of the causes of bondage, Pollution, Karma and the Supreme Lord's power of obscuration, having ceased—the liberated being "does not proceed down below" (as the Āgama declares), that is to say, does not become transmigrant. What then does he do? The Āgama replies with the words "all interests." That liberated soul, equal as he is to Śiva in greatness, since unexcelled knowledge and activity concerning all things has arisen, and since he controls "all his interests by his own power"—this liberated one does nothing, as there is nothing to be done.

'In that case the liberated being was inactive before liberation (that is, in the eternal state anteior to transmigration) and when liberated is in the same state. What then makes him different in liberation (from himself in pre-eternity ?'

The difference is this. Since he is "unagitated" or unsettled "by the All Master," the Supreme Lord—that is what he becomes then (in liberation).

"is he unsettled for some time only ?' No, says the Āgama, "always." Śiva the Lord does not become an unsettler with regard to him, in other words.

Aghoraśiva continues Nārāyāṇakaṇṭha's thought by emphasizing its key concepts. "Released Souls are those who have attained equality with Śiva...because they are free from the impurity known as beastliness (paśutva)...from their union with Śiva nature (śivatva) through (attributes) like omniscience, that Śiva-nature is truly theirs." Aghoraśiva also anticipates, as it were, the objection raised by the majority of the Tamilian Siddhāntins: "Now if in this manner the released souls are equal in the Śiva-nature, what difference is there between them and the Supreme Lord ?" In reply he quotes Bhoja's words: "however, they are released by His favour." The difference seems to lie not in the nature of release, but in the mode of its attainment. In essence, release is freedom and omniscience, but in Śiva it is independent and eternal, while in Beast it is dependent on Śiva and originant in time (though thenceforth enduring eternally). Indeed, it is conceivable that Beast's powers of knowledge and action could remain forever screened by Pollution were divine grace not to unveil and manifest them.

Aghoṙa's views were rejected by most, but not all, Tamilian Siddhāntins. Among the few exceptions were Jñānaprakāsar and Maraijñāna Deśikar (15th cent). For Jñānaprakāsar the Beast's equality with Śiva, at the moment of its liberation, is not total, for it does not include the power of creating the world. For Marajñāna, the attainment of Śiva is not actually bliss for Beast, but only the condition for the attainment of that bliss, which lies in the full realization of its connatural powers.

Among Aghora's prominent critics are Velliambaiavāna Tambiran (17th cent). and Śivāgrayogin (16th cent)., the former lenient and the latter harsh. In Tambīran's view, Aghora abandons the Siddhānta's traditional teaching, according to which, in Tambīran's mind, Pollution has first to mature, before Initiation can expunge it and so give rise to the state of liberation—fully realised only at the moment of death. As for the nature of liberation, Tambīran, quoting the Āgamas, maintains that it consists in an ineffable taste of Śiva (Raurava Āgama); that it is an effect of the Śiva experience (Sarvajñānottam Āgama); or indeed, is the Śiva-experience itself (acinty Viśva Āgama). However,

Tambiran's evident respect for Aghora's authority leads him to conclude that in propounding the equality with Śiva doctrine, Aghora is not really formulating the orthodox (siddhānta) position, but only giving expression to a dissentient view (pūrvapakṣa).

Śivāgrayogin is less considerate. If the soul is equal to the Supreme Self, he declares, the powers of omniscience and onimpotence being fully operative, the soul would even have the power to create the world. Moreover, remarks Śivāgrayogin,

> the soul in whom (Śiva's immanent attributes) knowledge and activity, are "manifested" (in liberation), alien as its nature is to the absence of both joy and sorrow, is itself unfit to be the Goal of Life. (For it must be alien to the absence of sorrow; that is, it must be amenable to sorrow; else it can never the bound. It must also be alien to the absence of joy; that is, amenable to joy, or else it will never achieve liberation. Such a neutral being cannot be the innately blissful Śiva, the true Goal of life)...
>
> Besides, when the liberated being, distinct from Śiva but equal to Him, is relieved to his dependence on the God, an injury to Śiva's universal sovereignty will ensue. Furthermore, there being nothing to differentiate the liberated being from Śiva, difference between them will be unfitting: for if equality with Śiva is liberation, is only partial equality liberation, or is total equality? In the first alternative, it will follow that no difference obtains between bound and liberated souls, since some equality (or similiarity to Śiva) exists even in the bound. In the second alternative, if (a) the liberated being is lacking in parts, then nothing will differentiate him from a similar imparitte Śiva, Himself possessed of qualities like-omniscience, independent and liberated; he will be Śiva Himself, not just equal to Śiva.
>
> But if it is postulated that (b) the liberated being is partite, then its partite character must be described as relationship to the Nucleic Body, as none other is possible. In that case there will (again) be no distinction between liberated and bound.

After thus criticising Aghoraśiva's view, Śivāgrayogin teaches that the sou experiences Śiva's bliss rather than its own:

> Moreover, equality is entirely synonymous with identity. Hence liberation is not equality to Śiva; it is solely the experience of the joy of Śiva through union with the God..How indeed is identity possible between the omniscient and eternally liberated Śiva and the little-knowing bound Beast—Since contrary characteristics obtain only in distinct realities? On the other hand, if Beast and Śiva identify, bondage, the mark of Beast, will occur in Śiva, and eternal liberation, the mark of Śiva, in Beast himself. You cannot say that as the same jujube fruit is green and red at different times, contradictory characteristice like omniscience and little knowledge can occur in one place; for then the Beastly state will be Śiva's own, entailing His bondage and disaccord as regards the aptness of eternal liberation to Himself.

R.A. Dundwia

4
The Āmnāya Classification

The āmnāya system of classification is nowhere discussed by Abhinavagupta. This fact seems, at first sight, to indicate that the classification of *Kulatantras* (or at least of a part of them) as groups belonging to fixed directions (on the analogy of the Siddhānta classification) was a late development. Thus Tantras such as the *Bhairavakula* or *Niśisaṃcāra* which thought of themselves as being Trika, divided the Śaivāgama into three main groups: *Siddhānta, Vāma* and *Dakṣiṇa* while distinguishing these from *kula* and *kaula* of which Trika was considered to be the culmination. They do not refer to the *āmnāya* classification and so, presumably following their lead, neither does Abhinavagupta. Perhaps, therefore, we should not immediately assume that the *āmnāya* classification postdates Abhinavagupta. Indeed, there is positive evidence which leads one to suppose that it did not. The KMT, which is generally considered to be the oldest recovered work of the *Paścimāmnāya*, postdates the *Siddhayogeśvarimata* to which it refers specifically as the Tantra where the goddess Siddhayogeśvarī is exalted. Even so, as one of the sixty-four Tantras listed in the NSA, it can certainly be claimed to be prior to the ninth century (see above p. 480). Moreover, as noted above, Abhinavagupta himself refers to the KMT while it specifically considers itself to be "the Path of the *Pascimāmnāya*" and also knows of the *Uttara*—and *Dakṣiṇaāmnāyas* which it respects as teaching valid doctrines. It seems also, in one place at least, to refer to the *Pūrvāmnāya*. Nor is it justifiable to suppose that this classification is peculiar to the Tantras of the Kubjikā school as we shall see in the following exposition of *āmnāyas*.

The division into *āmnāyas* seems to have been originally into four, with each *āmnāya* symbolically set in one of the four directions. We have seen that the KMT knows only of four. The *Yogakaṇḍa* of the MBT also refers to only four *āmnāyas* where they have a more tangible identity. They are presented as corresponding to the four Ages (*yuga*), with the *Paścimāmnāya* as that which is most fit for the present *Kali* Age. In the ṣaṭ the *āmnāyas* are said in various places to be either five, six or even seven. The five-*āmnāya* divison is equated withe the five vital breaths in such a way that the *Paścimāmnāya* corresponds to the Pervasive Breath (*vyāna*), the experience of which is the universal pervasion of consciousness to which the teaching leads? The division into five *āmnāyas*

(formed by adding an upper one to the original four) is at times represented as spoken by the five faces of Sadāśiva, following the basic siddhānta pattern. The six-fold scheme can be formed by adding a sixth upper current "beyond the upper" (*ūrdhvordhva*), although a division into six is also possible by adding a lower current, an example of which we have already noted in relation to the five-fold siddhānta pattern with Kula as the sixth. The former alternative is found in *Trikatantras* like the *Bhargaśikhā* where Trika is located above the Upper Face which is that of *Iśāna*.

The our-fold division appears to be the oldest. This supposition is confirmed by the *Kulārṇavatantra* which characterises the secret of the "secrets more secret than secret" (*rahasyātirahasya*) of its own Kaula doctrines as an upper-*āmnāya* situated above the four *āmnāyas* to which the many Kaula traditions belong that are "known to many." These five are here said to be spoken by Śiva. The *Saṃketapaddhati*, an early Kaula text, refers to just four *āmnāyas*. A four-fold division which, as in the *Saṃketapaddhati*, is equated with four metaphysical moments in the dynamics of ultimate reality, represented as aspects of the power Speech (*bhāratiśakti*) which issues from the four faces of the "beginningless Mother"—Mahāvidyā, is found in Amṛtānanda's *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* which he quotes in his commentary on the *Yoginihṛdaya*.

An account of the spirituality and history of the four *āmnāyas*, from the *Paścimāmnāya* point of view, is recorded in a short but interesting work called the *Ciñcinimatasārasamuccaya*. All the manuscripts of this text located up to now are found in Nepal. The CMSS claims that is belongs to the *Divyaugha* and is a compendium or essence of the supreme Kaula doctrine of the Siddha tradition. It also implicitly identifies itself with a type of Tantric work common in the earlier period (*i.e.*, prior to the eleven century), namely a *Sāraśāstra*, by referring to a number of other Tantras of this type in its introductory section, while affirming that it presents the essence (*sāra*) of the *Kubjikāmata*. The four *āmnāyas* (here variously called *veśman gṛha* or *ghara*) are presented as originating from the *Paścimāmnāya* which is the "Source Tradition" (*janmāmnāya*) that possesses them all. Similarly, the MBT also says of it that it clearly manifests the four *āmnāyas* the knowledge of which gives rise to the Divine Tradition (*divyāmnāya*) and so is the highest of them. The *Paścimāmnāya* is where all the sequences, of inner mystical states of the other three *āmnāyas*, once abandoned and transcended, ultimately merge. As such, it is equated with the pure thought-free consciousness of the *Śambhava* state—Śiva's inner experience of himself which pervades all the Kaula traditions. Thus, because it is also essentially Śaiva, it is their ultimate goal, embracing as it does both Kula and Akula—Śakti and Śiva. So, pure in all respects, and free of both virture and vice (*dharma* and *adharma*), the *Paścimāmnāya*, is above all the other *āmnāyas*.

Let us see then what the CMSS has to say about the *Pūrva*, *Dakṣiṇa* and *Uttara āmnāya*, after which we shall present our analysis of its views, to conclude with a short account of the *Paścimāmnāya*.

Pūrvāmnāya

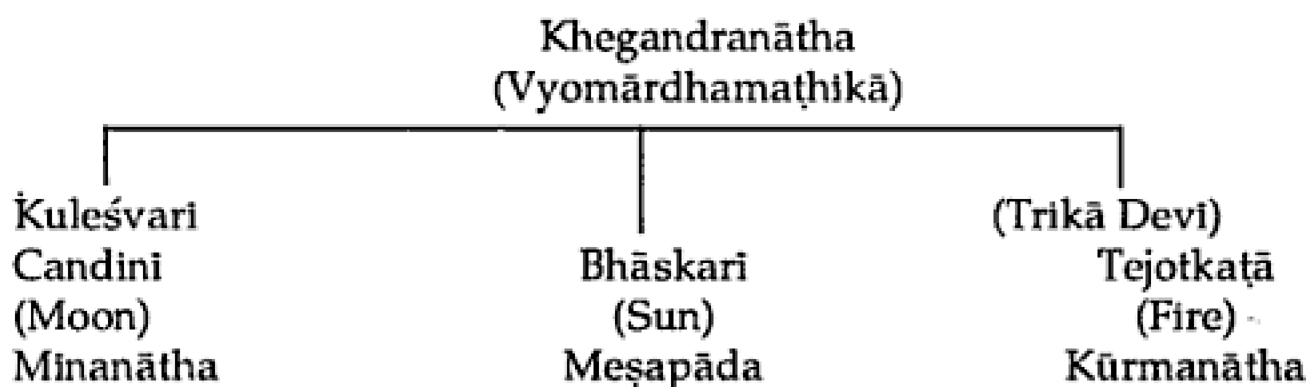
This *āmnāya* is described as the *Yoginimatasāra* present in both Kula and Kaula. The

goddess manifests here in the form of the bliss of one's own consciousness. This tradition teaches the best *kulācāra*, namely, the manner in which Kuleśvarī who "devours the *Kumārikula*." This tradition transmits the consciousness which pervades the Sky of transcendental reality and through it Trika was brought into this world. Trika doctrine is here embodied as Trika the goddess of three-fold form who is the Mistress of the Three Worlds (*Tribhuvaneśvarī*). *Trikamaṭhikā* is divided into three lines of transmission, each associated with a *kulaguru* to which is added a fourth—*Khagendranātha*—who belongs to *Vyomārdhamaṭhikā*.

The goddess emerges from the centre of reality alongwith Paramānandabhairava. The whole universe is instructed by this power which is the paramount knowledge of the Divine Transmission (*divyaugha*). This *maṭhikā* is that of the line or Siddhas known as the Tradition of the Elders (*vṛddhavalli*). It is in this tradition that Siddhanātha incarnated in this world during each of the four Ages (*yuga*) as a Kaula master, as follows:

First Yuga	Khagendranātha and Vijāhuti
Disciples	Vimala, Suśobha
Second Yuga	Kūrmanātha and Maṅgalājyoti
Disciples	Ajita, Vijita
Third Yuga	Meṣanātha and Kāmāṅgā
Disciples	Khakulanātha
	More than sixty-four Kulas

FIGURE 4.1
The Transmission of Trikamaṭhikā According to the CMSS



FourthYuga

To this Fourth Yuga belongs the Tradition of Oṃ (*Oṃvalli*) founded by Mīnanātha, also called Piṅgalanātha, who obtained the knowledge of the *Kulaśāstra* which was thrown into the ocean by Kārttikeya. His consort was the princes Kuṃkumā from whom were born twelve princes; six of these were: Bhadra, Amarapāda, Mahendra, Khagendra, Mahīdra and Guṇḍikanātha. These princes were said to have no authority to teach, while the six other; listed below, did teach and were the founders of six traditions (*ovallī*). They are each associated with a *pīṭha*, a town and a forest where they practiced austerities for a varying number of years according to the instructions of a master. This data is listed schematically in following table:

Dakṣiṇāmnāya

Kāmeśvārī descends into this *āmnāya*. She arises from the three *pīthas* and resides in their centre, pleasing to behold as the early morning sun and yet brilliant like a hundred million lightning flashes. She is the Passionate one, full of the passion

	Prince	*Master*	*Ovall*	*Pītha*	*Town*	*Direction in relation to Śrīśaila*	*Grove*	*Duration of Vows*
1.	(Amara)	Siddhanātha	Bodha	Tripurottara	Ḍohāla	South	Kambili	12 years
2.	Varadeva	Vidyānanda	Prabhū	Kamada	Kuṇḍī	West		
3.	Citra-nātha	Kaula-siṃhamuni	Pāda	Aṭṭahāsa	Daṇḍa-ratna	North	Bilvākṣa	12 Years
4.	Olinātha*	Sṛṅgālamuni	Ānanda	Devikoṭa	Bālahoma	East	Pāyavṛkṣa	7 Years
5.	Vṛddha-nātha	Śāṇḍilya-muni	Yoga	Dakṣiṇādi	Piṇḍa	South-West	Khairavṛkṣa	25 Years
6.	Guḍika-nātha	Candra-bimba	Oṃ	Kaulagiri	Gauḍikā	North-West	Nārikela-phala	8 Years

(*Kāma*) which devours *Kumārikula* desirous of herself. Kāmeśvarī descends into the world in the form for a young virgin (*kumārī*). She melts the Circle of Birth of her own nature by her energy, and by the intent of her own vitality fills it. She is Kulayoginī of divine form, peaceful and pure as translucent crystal. She has two arms, one face and three eyes and her waist is thin. She resides on the northern side of the Mālinī Mountain behind which is a bower (*gahvara*) called the Place of the Nightingale. It is filled with wild genders, ducks and other birds of all sorts. Khecarī Bhūcarī, Siddha and Śākinī reside there absorbed in meditation.

There, in the Divine Circle of the Triangle, is located the cave called the Face of the Moon in which resides the goddess, the virgin who is the flow of vitality (*śukravāhinī*). Siddhas, munis (including Krodhamuni) and ascetics practiced austerities there for thousands of years, until they became aged and emaciated. Their gaze was averted upwards, to the Inner Face until they saw the goddess Śukrā and thus attained the state of divine inebriation (*ghūrmyāvasthā*) by virtue of her divine splendour. Once the goddess had transmitted this divine knowledge to them, Kāmadeva appeared before her in divine form and 'melted' by the power of Kāmeśvarī. Thus the two became one and gave rise to the Rudra Couple. The son born of this union was Kauleśa who taught this divine knowledge.

In the *āmnāya*, *Kāmeśvarī* is described as the twelve-lettered *Vidyā*, surrounded by twelve goddesses. Then come *Vāgeśvarī*, *Tripurā*, *Vāgabhāva* and *Bhagamāliṇī* who are Kāmeśvarī's powers (*prabhava*). The *Dakṣiṇāmnāya* is where all the Nityās come from.

*Olinātha travelled to Kāmaru, to the south of which was a place called Trikhaṇḍinī. There he performed austerities according to the instructions of Candrabimbamuni.

5
Appar : Śaivite Saint

Appar was on old man and he attained to Śiva's grace not when he was a child, but when he had grown ripe. He had become a convert to Jainism and had even become one of its main advocates. It was then that he fell a victim to a disease which could not be cured. He therefore gave up Jainism and became a *Śiva Bhakta*, as is reflected in his songs. Therefore, we detect in Appar's songs several traces of his superior learning. He was, judged from his songs, a much more learned man, than Sambandar, and we therefore have more chance of understanding through his padigams the condition of Śaivism prevalent in the land.

The first of these relates to his conversion to Śaivism. This is alluded to in very many songs one of which says "The god of Arūr who increased my sins and made me listen to the words of the Jainas, who made me suffer and entering the inside of my inside removed my falsehood (false doctrine), who visited me with disease, and then removed it so as to make me His servant."

There are some accounts of the Pallava king of the time have thrown him into a lime-kiln, compelled him to drink poisoned milk, sent an elephant to kill him, and also thrown him into the sea after trying him to a heavy stone. We do not have any definite allusion to these events by Appar himself. There are some more, such as bringing Appūdi Aḍigaḷ's son to life etc. It does not matter how far these accounts were true. There is no doubt that his was a very powerful personality, and that his songs were filled with religious emotion and high spiritual realisation. He must also have led an exemplary life as a *Śiva Bhakta*. Hence he must have, like Sambandar, attracted a host of followers, and shown the world the nobility involved in devoting oneself entirely to the service of god. Both these saints must have succeeded thoroughly in removing the doubts of sceptics, in putting an end to the influence of Jainism, and in creating a new school of *Śiva Bhaktas* who would model their lives upon the lives of these Saints.

Now let us examine the relevant details in Appar's songs which throw additional light upon the condition of his times. It is unnecessary to go through those songs which resemble Sambandar's in all particulars. The marked difference between Appar and Sambandar is, as stated above, the former's deeper knowledge of *Śaiva Siddhānta* doctrines. He ends *padigam* 4 by singing that Ārūr is the seat of Him, who is beyond the

twenty-five (*i.e.* the 25 *Tatvas*). Here he refers to the 25 *Tatvas* of the *Sāṅkhyas*. He is careful not to say that Śiva is the 26th *Tatva*, because he adopts elsewhere the *Śaiva* category of 96 *Tatvas*. Śiva is, according to him, beyond all of them.

Both Sambandar and Appar praise the five letters. Both speak of the *Mantra* in relation to the Brahmans. But there is a difference. Sambandar says:—"The final *Mantra* of the good Brahmans who raise the holy fire is the Pañcākṣara"; but Appar says:—"The rare jewel of the Brāhmaṇa is the Veda with its six angas; the rare jewel for *us* is the" Pañcākṣara. In reading Sambandar's song, we are not likely to notice the difference between the Brahmans believing, in Śaivism and the other Śaivas. But it is quite clear in Appar's song. We have, here, unmistakable evidence to show the existence of the class of Śaivas standing side by side with the Brahmans or the *Andaṇar*. The later class could not all have been believers in Śaivism; for some were Vaiṣṇavas, that, is, worshippers of Viṣṇu as the supreme, some were neutral having faith only in the Vedas, and some were believers in all the three, *i.e.*, the Vedas, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Śaiva, whether he was a Brahman, or a non-Brahman, was a believer in the Veda, but a worshipper of Śiva. He believed in the Veda because his doctrine was that the Vedas came from the mouth of Śiva himself.

The Vaiṣṇava had a similar doctrine, because he said that the Vedas were revealed by Viṣṇu. The Śaiva Brahman held the view that the Brahman who believed in the Veda had ultimately to seek the aid of Śiva if he was to gain final release. That was why Sambandar said 'The final *Mantra* of the pious Brahman is the *Pañcākṣara*'. Appar did not say anything like that, because he was not himself a Brahman, and was too good-natured a man to offend the sentiments of anybody. He ,therefore, satisfied himself by saying "The Brahman's jewel is the Veda. Ours is the *Pañcākṣara*". In the next stanza, he says:—"Though one does not have good birth, that which gives much good according to birth is the *Pañcākṣara*". This shows that he, like the rest of the Śaivas, believed that the *Pañcākṣara* was the common *Mantra* that could be given (by the *Guru*) to people of all castes. But Appar also says, herein, that the resulting benefit will be in keeping with the birth of the person who received the *Mantra*. It must be noticed that there is absolutely no mention of the superiority or inferiority of one caste to another, nor is there a condemnation of one sect in preference to another. That must have therefore been the attitude that pious believers in one religion had towards others.

Padigam 14 gives evidence of Appar's knowledge of the Purāṇas relating to Śiva. The first speaks of the drinking of the poison. The second stanza narrates the story of Śiva being the '*stambha*', or the support of the whole universe, at the time of the *pralaya* or the great flood when everything gets dissolved except the one great God. In that state, says Appar, no god is capable of reaching it. Then it is called also '*Param*'. That '*Param*' appeared before Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and could not be seen by either. That same is, he says, the god who became Śiva. Here what we have to notice is that Appar has the motive of making people understand three aspects of Śiva. (1) The lower Śiva, the functionary whose duty it was to dissolve the universe; (2) the higher form called *Parāpara* where Śiva appears in His bisexual form, *i.e.*, as *Śiva* and *Śakti*. This is the great *jyōtis* of the *Parā*

aspect of Śiva. Hence it has the name *parañjōti*. It was that form that baffled, according to the Śaiva, the comprehension of Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

Sambandar, as we have seen, described this form in this description of god called *Ekamba* of Kāñcī. (3) Beyond even this form of *jyōtis* or brilliance was the *Stambha*, or the pillar form, the great *Skambha* of the Atharva Veda. That cannot be described at all. That in fact is one way of expressing the *Param* or the *para-Brahman*. It is this that is referred to here by Appar first. It is not a composite form of *Śakti* and *Śiva* but is purely the *Śiva* form (if it could be spoken of as having a form). In other words it is the *Śivam* of the *Śaiva Siddhāntin*. This idea is still further developed by Appar in the next stanza. It is worth while noticing its meaning because it shows that Appar was not ignorant of the Vaiṣṇava conception of the higher Viṣṇu. He says:—"Our sole refuge is that *Mūrti* (or god) who is beyond (*Para*) the boy (Viṣṇu) residing in the banyan leaf, who is Himself the little form of that brilliant being who swallowed the entire universe including this world and the celestial worlds. That brilliant being is again the manifestation of the one highest form". Here Appar is careful not to call the Highest by the name of Śiva or Viṣṇu. He only marks the order of manifestation. First, there is the one-formed highest. Then it shows itself as Brilliance (Parañiōti).

Lastly, that Brilliance, takes the small form of the child on the leaf. That is spoken of as the higher Viṣṇu by the Vaiṣṇava. His greatness consists in swallowing up the entire universe, or in other words pervading and sustaining the universe. He is also conceived of as the great Nārāyaṇa of the milk ocean. The first is, according to Appar, the sole refuge. He is very careful not call it by the name of Śiva or Viṣṇu, even in their higher manifestations. As ordinarily understood, the Vaiṣṇava, conception stops short witth param-jyottis. So Appar identtifies Nārāyan, or the higher Viṣṇu, with the Brilliance or Parañjōti. But since, there is the *Param* beyond this *Parañjōti* (or *Parāparai*, according to Tirumūlar), Appar says that the *Param* is his final refuge. It is open to the great Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs to identify that *Param* with the higher form of Nārāyaṇa Himself, as it is to *Śaivas* like Appar to identify it with their *Śivam*. But Appar scrupulously avoids applying either the name of *Śivam* or *Mahā Viṣṇu* to it, for he knows that it is absurd to effect any differentiation in that highest form which is, in his own words, only *Ekavuru* or the One form.

Incidentally, we are enabled also to understand the inner meaning of all the Śaiva allusions about Viṣṇu worshipping Śiva and all the Vaiṣṇava allusions, about Śiva worshipping Viṣṇu. The lower Śiva (the functionary who takes equal place with Brahmā and Viṣṇu) has to regard Nārāyaṇa (the *Parāpara* of Tirumūlar, and the *parañjōti* of the Tēvāram hymners) as his superior. The lower Viṣṇu has to worship the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, or the *Paraṁjyōtis*, or the *Parāpara*, as his superior. But this higher Viṣṇu and higher Śiva are identical, and both have the *Param* beyond them. The Purāṇic allusions therefore are not contradictory. But, the Śaiva or the Vaiṣṇava who, in his devotion, identifies all manifestations of Śiva or Viṣṇu with the higher (*i.e.* the *param* and *Paraṁjyōtis*) forms may go wrong in his interpretation of the allusions with the result that he Śaiva will believe only in the Śaiva Purāṇas, and the Vaiṣṇavas in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas.

From the above explanation, it will be seen that Appar could not have been either ignorant, or intolerant, of the Vaiṣṇava religion. The remaining stanzas mention the Purāṇic incidents of the destruction of *Tārakāsura*, the three cities, *Yama* (when he went to take away the life of Mārkaṇḍēya), the Dakṣa sacrifice, etc. They do not need any special comment. There is a small point touched upon by Appar in a stanza where he says:—"Those of you who are able to conquer your five *Indriyas* can see Him of the *mantra*, *Ōṁkāra*, if you think with concentration." The idea is that beyond the *Ōm* none can see anything. One can only get lost in the Highest. In that highest condition (called *Śiva-mukti* by Sambandar), there is no duality, and so nothing can be said about seeing or not seeing. But if one desires to see, one can do that in the stage immediately below the Highest (called *Para-mukti* by *Tirumūlar* as seen above). In that second stage, one can dwell in the *Ōm*, and *Upa-Śānti* will be gained by meditation on this *mantra*. Here we see that both Appar and Sambandar are expressing a view which is consistent with that held by Tirumūlar.

The Gñāna practice of the *Śaiva* is stated by Appar in a nut-shell in one stanza. He says:—"The Lord of Tiruppayaṟṟūr is capable of banishing all anger by causing enjoyment in the mind of those who restrain their senses, practise concentration, transcend their two houses (the *Sthūla* and *Sūkṣma* bodies), and unite the two (their *Jīvātma* with *Śiva*)." It is clear, therefore, that these are the things to be achieved by the Śaivas. It is for the cultivation of this (*Vairāgya*) or restraint, concentration, etc., that the different *Sādhanas, Caryā* etc., are prescribed for the Śaiva. Appar evidently alludes to the *Sādhanas* when he says elsewhere "He became *all the Śiva-paths* in the minds of those who reflect."

Appar makes a pointed allusion to the *Mōhini* form in which Viṣṇu appeared, according to the Purāṇas, after the churning of the milk ocean. The story goes that Śiva embraced Viṣṇu in that form. This apparently silly story is made by Appar to yield its rich esoteric significance. He says "To that God of brilliance, there is no consort other than Hari who is extolled by all the *Dēvas* as their god." The question will arise, "Did not Śiva have his consort *Umā* ? The answer is that *Umā* is the consort of Mahēśvara, the equal of the other functionaries, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. But this form of brilliance, or *Paraṁjyōtis*, is *parāpara* (just inferior to *Param* or *Śivam*). There the deity is bi-sexual. The female aspect—to put it so—is the Viṣṇu aspect, and the male aspect is the Śiva aspect. The Śaiva would regard this bi-sexual form (to put it crudely) as *Ardhanārīśvara*. If a fitting name should be given to it, the name *Harihara* can be given. Hence it is that Śāstrā (the offspring of *Śiva* and *Mōhini*) is called *Harihara Putra*, or the son of *Harihara*. Appar nicely says that *Jyōtis* has no *Dēvi*. The Dēvi aspect in that composite form is represented by Viṣṇu. This very same idea he expresses with greater emphasis and perhaps more directly in another place where he says "He (Śiva) has, as one part of Him, *Māyan* (Viṣṇu) who ate the earth." It is open to interpret this stanza as "He had by his side Viṣṇu." But I feel that it is not what Appar intends because he (as well as Sambandar) always uses the expression *Orupāgaṁ Koṇḍar* in the sense of 'having one part, or one half of Him.' It seems sufficiently clear that Appar wanted all Śaivas to regard Viṣṇu as only another aspect of Śiva, whenever, he wrote such lines.

In a stanza about the god of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, he speaks about the existence of Śiva in the body. He says:—"The Lord of Oṟṟiyūr is consciousness in the form of life which will be seated in the *Ātma* by rare penance." The idea is that consciousness is roused by penance, and the *Ātma* in the body becomes united with Śiva seated there. Here Appar reveals his knowledge of the *Tatvas* according to the *Śaiva Siddhānta* philosophy. These *Tatvas* are reckoned as 96. The 96 *Tatvas* are as follows:—24 *Ātma Tatvas*, 10 *Nāḍis*, 5 *Avasthās* or conditions, 3 *malās* or impurities, 3 guṇās (*Satva, Rajas* and *Tamas*), 3 *Maṇḍalas* (*Sūrya* the *Sun*, *Agni* the Fire and *Candra* the moon), three humours (*Vāda, Pitta* and *Ślēṣma*), 8 *Vikāras* or modifications (*Kāma, Krōdha, Lōbha, Mōha, Mada, Mātsarya, Ḍamba* and *Asūrya*), 6 *Ādhāras*, 7 *Dhātus*, 10 *Vāyus*, 5 *Kōśas*, 9 doorways. The 24 *Ātma Tatvas* are the five elements (Bhūtas), 5 Taṉmatṟas, (Śabda, etc), 5 *Gñāna Indriyas*, 5 *Karmendriyas* and 4 *Karaṇas* (*Manas, Buddhi, Citta* and *Ahaṅkāra*). All these 96 relate to the *body*. Appar says that in different places. Over and above 96, there are the five *Kañcukās* or coverings. They are *Niyati, Kalā, Kāla, Rāga* and *Vidyā*. Appar alludes to these also just in the place where the alludes to the 96, which are of the body. He says:—"The five enter the body and cause weariness to the 96 (*tatvās* of the body)." Thus it is seen that according to Appar, it is the 5 *Kañcukās* that distress the body. (The five may be the five senses in the alternative).

In many places Śiva is spoken of as being in eight forms. According to the Sanskrit interpretation of the term *Aṣṭa Mūrti* (an epithet of Śiva), the eight forms are those of the five elements, the sun, the moon and the sacrificing priest. Very probably this was the sense in which appar used it, for very often he alludes to Śiva, becoming 'water, fire, earth, the sky, the beautiful shining lights (the sun and the moon)', etc. Whenever the *Tēvāram* hymners use the expression '*Vēdiyan*' for Śiva, it is Śiva as the Sacrificer that is meant. That is also the reason why Śiva is given the sacred thread in the descriptions about him. Such descriptions are contrary to theories that Śiva is a Dravidian deity, etc. If more proof were needed, we may examine one stanza of Appar where he says:—"If the red god who has got the name Śiva only for Himself will make me His servant, and, if I call Him by the name Bhava for several days, then He will appear before me thinking that I will not leave off calling Him, even if many days pass." It will be remembered that the expression '*Upavītinē*' appears even in the *Śatarudrīya* hymn of the Yajur Vēda. So the conception starts from there.

It is interesting to notice Appar calling Lord Śiva by the name of 'Śiva.' He says "O, Dēva Dēva (Lord of Lords) whose red lotus feet are worshipped by all, who has the black throat, O ! *Śaiva* who holds the deer, the goat and the axe, who is the master of me, the dog, that has no knowledge although I have studied much, O father of Ālavāy." What is the object of Appar's calling Śiva by the name of '*Śaiva*' ? To me, it seems that he is thereby intending to show that in the form in which Śiva appears as holding the deer, etc., he is only a Śiva, *i.e.*, one who belongs to Śivam the highest and not Śivam itself. '*Śaiva*' means 'belonging to Śiva.' The *Śiva Murti*, or manifestation, is only 'belonging to *Śivam*' and therefore inferior to the real '*Śivam*' is formless.

In one place Appar states that the reason why Śiva destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice

was that Dakṣa did not have a knowledge of the *Tantras* or *Āgamas*. He says:—To Śāykkāḍu has come the Lord who blessed the Moon on the day on which He destroyed the sacrifice performed by Dakṣa, who was ignorant of the Tantra; on that day, Indra, Brahmā, Agni and the eight Vasus praised and worshipped Him with Vedic Mantras. Here, the contrast between worship and sacrifice is brought into prominence. Dakṣa did not worship Śiva; he only sacrificed, and so his sacrifice was destroyed. Why did not Dakṣa worship Śiva ? Appar says, he did not do so because he did not know the *Tantra*. He knew only the *Mantra*. The *Tantra* or the *Āgama* alone would teach *Upāsanā* or worship. The Vēda has two parts, the *Gñāna Kāṇḍa* and the *Karma Kāṇḍa, i.e.*, that portion which leads to knowledge and that which ordains the duty of performing sacrifices. The *Āgama* it is that teaches the *Bhakti* path. That is the *Tantra* which was not known to Dakṣa. This seems to be meaning of Appar.

As for the use of the word *Tantra* to denote the *Āgamas*, it is very well justified because many of the *Āgamas* are called *Tantras*. e.g. In the Kāraṇāgama, the sub divisions are called Kāraṇa Tantra, Pāvana tantra, Daurgīya Mahēndra Tantra, Vīma Tantra, Māraṇa Tantra and Īśāna Tantra. In the Yōgīśāgama, we have the Tāra-tantra; in the Cintiyāgama, we have the Vāma Tantra; in the Asitāgama, the Pārvati Tantra, in the Sahasrāgama, the Alaṁkāra Tantra and so on. Thus it is clearly seen that Appar had a clear conception of the relative values of the Vēdas and the *Āgamas*.

One of Appar's stanzas reveals the practice of repeating the *Āgamas* which must have prevailed during his time. He says:—"Because of our loneliness; it is difficult for us to keep company with the dark ghosts. (So) my tongue will go on uttering the *Āgamas* in the presence of its companion (the mind) to the accompaniment of the music of the unrivalled Tiruviḍaimarudūr." The stanza is written in the erotic vein. The poet is like the sweet-heart who is abandoned by her lover (God), and has therefore to talk about her lover to the *Pāṅgi* or female companion. This talk about the lover is the *Āgama* that Appar's tongue utters. The idea is that Śiva the lover who is always with this ghosts, is unseen by the *Bhakta*, and so the *Bhakta* has only ghosts as his companions. He cannot feel satisfied with that state of loneliness, and therefore seeks a companion to whom he utters his inward thoughts. The stanza is valuable to us as illustrating how *Āgamas* were being uttered by *Bhaktas* like Appar.

Some of Appar's songs are intended as advice to thinking minds about the manner in which they were to practise realisation. He says:—You can see the Kaḍamba youth's (Subrahmaṇya's) father (Śiva), if you look for Him with the light of wisdom issuing forth from the wick of life, fed with the ghee of contemplation in the lamp of mind within the house of your body." This according to him is the method to be adopted for self-illumination. That is fitted for the thoughtful person. Another similar poem is intended for the person who takes delight in agricultural operations. He says:—'Plough with truth; plant the seed of desire (for knowledge); weed out untruth; irrigate the field with the water of patience; supervise your work by looking into yourself; built the fence of good rules (Dharma); if you do these well, *Śiva gati* will grow there at once." There are several more of such stanzas, but we shall stop with one more so that we may see how he advises such

Bhaktas as will find satisfaction only in formal worship. He says:—"Regard your body as the temple, your mind as the worshipper, Truth as purity (needed for worship), the jewel of the mind (mana maṇi) as the Liṅga, love as the ghee, milk, etc. Perform Pūja to Īśa thus."

Whatever might be the cousel given by Appar to different sorts of people to suit their different degrees of development, his own faith was unshaken in the view that unless 'the citta is made one-pointed, and the *mantra* of *Śivāya Namaḥ* is contemplated upon, God's grace cannot be gained." He says, "Through your grace, I have made my mouth shine by the utterance of *Śivāya Namaḥ;* I have worn the sacred ashes. Give me *Śivagatī*."

Appar seems to have been very eager to remove all kinds of doubts that might have arisen in the minds of the Śiva worshippers; for he says "The same *Puṇyam* (Pure God) will be spoken of as the god of the elements." It was quite likely that he had to give this teaching to those Brahmans who pinned their faith on sacrifices and the Vedas alone, and also to those Śaivas who equally wrongly pinned their faith on the *Śiva Mārga*. He apparenly addresses the former when says:—"What is the use of your troubling yourselves (to walk about here and there) with a stick, the grass (*darbha*), the *Kūrca* (made of *Darbha* grass), the skin (deer skin) etc. ? O ! Lord of Mayilāḍuturai, is even the sacred thread needed for those who have understood ?" And for the purpose of making it clear that Śiva would bless every one, whichever of the six *Samayas* or *Mārgas* he pursued, he says:—"His (Śiva's) feet are capable of giving satisfaction to every one of the followers of the six *Samayas*. They are also capable of lifting up advanced *Bhaktas* to the beautiful path." This means that Appar regarded the *Śiva Neṛi* or *Mārga* as the highest; but on that account it ought not to be believed that Śiva would not bless the others. Again, he says that the Śiva of the *Śaiva Siddhāntin* was not different from the Śiva of the Vēdas. He says:—"His feet are those of Him who is called *Svayambhu* and *Sthāṇu* in the four Vēdas." The motive of the saint to effect unity among the different schools of *Śiva Bhaktas* is very evident in these explanations.

In one stanza he speaks of Śiva as incomprehensible. He says:—"There is none who has seen the source of the *Tatvas*. Those who see the foremost *Tatva* do not really see (i.e., they see themselves as different from the seen, and so their knowledge is imperfect). The Lord of Pugali is not capable of being known by those who do not become established in the source of the *Tatvas*." He explains the idea somewhat when he says, "The Lord of *Kāñci* is the music in the song, the sweetness in the fruit. He cannot be called male or female. He has no dimensions. His form is different. He is the lustre in the eyes." Just in the same manner in which sweetness is in the song, etc. Śiva is, says Appar, in the trought or the mind. Appar was in favour of imparting instruction in the five letters even to ignorant people, for he was of opinion that Śiva would appear (with his consort) in the minds of all who would utter the 'five letters' and understand its significance. The saint said this because he must have seen and heard of some of the *Nāyanārs*, and possibly others, who had gained real illumination in this way. Further, he paid more attention to practice than to panditry or pure intellectual scholarship. We find him reviling learned men who would not translate their views into action. "O ! fools, who speak of various Śāstras. Of what avail is your ancestry and family ? If you worship Śiva saying that he (alone) is pure, you will gain His grace in a trice."

He was so very eager to spread the worship of Śiva that he could not help over and over again asking people to do it. Love of god must be felt and manifested. That was his central teaching. "Dance, weep, worship, sing", said he. Again, "O servants of god, who were, in your youth, deaf (to words of good counsel), save yourselves, now, when your body is bent with age, by worshipping the lord of Tiruvalañjuli."

Padigam 203 is a poem where all the allusions are apparently to the *Śaiva Āgamas*, etc. Some of them are very easy to understand, while others are not. One of the stanzas seem to give an explanation of the five hoods of Śiva's one serpent. It says "Five are the *tatvas* of that which is worn round the waist." The line can be understood in the light of Tirumālar's line which says the serpent is one, its hoods are five.' The commentator of the latter explains the serpent to mean the *Ātma*, and the hoods to mean the five senses. So the serpent is the *Jīvātma* resting upon *Śiva*, the *Paramātma*. This meaning is supported by the next line of the *Tēvāram* stanza where Appar says that it is He (Śiva) who become 'the five, the five and the separate (groups of) five. The meaning is that Śiva, Himself became the five *Tanmātras*, the five Karmēndriyas, the five *Gñānendriyas* and other groups of five. These are the *tatvas* through which the *Jīvātma* has worldly enjoyment. But when knowledge dawns upon the Jīvātma, the senses are subdued and the Jīvātma finds its resting-place in Paramātma or Śiva. Thus, interpreted properly, Appar wants us to have this conception of the rather unseemly figure of Śiva with the snake on his body.

In certain places Appar reveals his high realisations; *e.g.* he says:—"I say within myself the fragrance, the *guru* whom my mind seeks, the *Dēvi* whom my *guṇas* worship, and also the form of Śiva living inside my heart." All the other stanzas in that poem are to the same effect; the only difference being that the Śiva that is seen inside the heart is described variously as 'brilliance' 'fullness' etc. Elsewhere the expresses regret that people do not meditate upon *Śiva* and *Jīva*. He wants that people should practise the Sādhana of regarding everything as the manifestation of Śiva. As if to drive home this teaching, he says in another place "He is Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, the four Vēdas, the completest Being, the Holiest, the Oldest, etc."

He also wants that people should know that, though Śiva is all these, He is none of these. So he says (elsewhere), "He is without name, without birth, death or disease." Everyone knows that these truths are not the monopoly of the Śaiva or the Vaiṣṇava. It is these attributes that are food for the spiritual reflection of every Hindu, to whichever sect he may belong. They have their origin in the Upaniṣads, and they have sunk deep in the minds of all Hindus. Whenever any *Bhakta* thinks of god, he imagines that his god (be it Gaṇapati, or Subrahmaṇya, or Śiva or Sūrya or Viṣṇu or Aṁbikā), is the god of all gods, is without birth or death, and so on. It fact this is the underlying unity within the multiplicity of different worships in Hinduism. Appar is an advocate of Śaivism. But like the true Hindu that he is, he does not want to get rid of this popular religious attitude because it is a correct wholesome one. So he explains in these stanzas, how Śaivism is not in any way opposed to the popular notions. All paths leading to god are good paths, but the Śaiva will have his preference. He will call his path, the best of the best. Appar says "Śiva stands as the best of all good paths."

It will be unnecessary to take up for examination the several other references made by Appar to the Śaivism of his time. It is enough to note that his deep religious fervour, thorough scholarship, exemplary life and mellifluous poetry were bound to have enormous influence over his contemporaries and advance the cause of Śaivism by leaps and bounds. In combination with the other great luminary of his days (Sambandar), he may be said to have practically driven Jainism out of the Tamil land.

The Saints and others Alluded

Before leaving Appar, we shall take stock of the *Periya Purāṇam* saints and others alluded to by him in his songs so that we may conclude who among them must have lived before him. We have seen before that Appūdi aḍigaḷ was his contemporary. He is referred to by name in a *padigam*. In another place, we notice Appar praising Śiva by the name of Rājasimha. He says "I have lovingly gathered to myself the beautiful Rājasimha, the beautiful Nandi of Rāmēśvara," etc. Here Appar may be referring to the god called Rājasimhēśvara in the temple called Kailāsanātha built by Narasimha Varman II Pallava, *alias* Rājasimha (C. 680-700 A.D.).

Caṇḍēśvara Nāyanār is referred to in several places, but one reference is sufficient for our purpose to show that his life-story had come to rank among the Purāṇas during the time of Appar. He said:—"The Lord of Tiruvāppāḍi showed his mercy to Caṇḍiyār who broke the leg of his father when he was disturbed in his worship of the *Sthāvara* (or fixed) form of...Śiva." Similarly Kō cceṅgaṇ is also alluded to in numerous places; *e.g.*, "The Lord Kurukkai Vīraṭṭam made the spider of Ānaikkā be born in the Cōḷa dyansty as Kō-cceṇgaṇ." The same poem has an allusion to Sākkiya Nāyanār of the *Periya Purāṇam*. It says "He (Śiva) made Śākkiyār, who had his porridge (kañji) only after worshipping the god by throwing a stone, give up eating rice got from paddy and rule the great Heavens." The next stanza contains an allusion to Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār, the 9th stanza of the same poem refers to the work of Kaṇampulla Nāyanār. As was noticed above, the first stanza of *padigam* 56 alludes to Sambandar being given by Śiva 1000 gold pieces.

The belief seems to have prevailed even then that the pratiṣṭha of the liṅga at Rāmēśvara was the work of Śri Rāma. The whole of poem 61 alludes to it. Appar describes himself as an old man in one of his songs. He says:—"I do not attempt to get over my *Karma*, to prevent white hair growing on me." The traditional view about Appar is that he lived up to a very old age. According to the *Periya Purāṇam* he did not marry, but we find him saying, in one of his songs "Being immersed in (thoughts about) my children and wife, I do not see God." Possibly he married and had children after he came back to Śaivism. He might have become in the end an out and out ascetic, giving up his *gṛhastha āśrama* (life as house-holder). The story of Amarniti Nāyanār of the *Periya Purāṇam* is mentioned in one stanza.

In *padigam* 100, Appar alludes to one Bhōga Muni. He says:—"Kṛṣṇa, Brahmā, the moon, the sun and all the Dēvas did penance at your gate to have sight of you, the victor.

Bhōga Muni of the slender twisted braid of hair is babbling. What may be your intention, O Ekamba of the shining braid of hair ?" The meaning of this stanza is obscure. The first two lines are clear enough. They allude to the victory of Śiva on the occasion of Dakṣa's sacrifice. All the Devas had to acknowledge Śiva's might and had to experience grief and mortification. But what are we to understand about Bhōga Munivar's babbling ? If we can find out who this Muni was, we can make some sense of this stanza. According South Indian tradition there was one Bhōga Muni, a very great expert in the art of medicine and yōga, and in his name, many unauthenticated medical treatises are still current in the country. We may take it that though the books themselves are spurious, there must have lived a saint who was an authority on medicine. Possibly he lived in the days of Appar in the city of Kāñci.

The *padigam* of Appar, in which the allusion is made, relates to the god of Kāñci. The story about this Bhōga Munivar is that he was a native of China who came over to South India and studied medicine in different places. That it was not impossible for Chinese travellers to come over to South India from China in those days in evidenced by the fact of Hiuen Tsang's arrival. He lived, as we know, in the days of Appar. It was quite possible, therefore, that the South Indian tradition about Bhōga Munivar has a historical basis. If more information becomes available about the Chinese travellers and scholars who came to India in those days, it will be possible to investigate this question more satisfactorily. It is very likely that Bhōga Muni was not a Hindu, but a Buddhist. Naturally therefore Appar says, 'Bhōga Munivar is babbling.' The idea is that when even such great beings like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others were forced to acknowledge the greatness of Śiva, this foreigner was speaking words of seeming wisdom (possibly about Buddhism and its superiority).

Appar refers to the Saint Nami Nandi Aḍigaḷ of the *Periya Purāṇam* in the following words "The wide world knows how Nambi Nandi lit the temple lamps with water instead of oil." From this stanza; it is also seen that 'Nami Nandi' is only a corruption of 'Nambi Nandi.'

The song about Tirumārpēru expresses the local tradition that was the place where Viṣṇu asked Mahābali Cakravarti to give him land of the extent measured by three steps of Viṣṇu.

Some of the stories of the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* must have become current at the time of Appar, though they might have been grouped into the sixty-four of current tradition only much later. It is there that we get the story that one of the earliest Pāṇḍya kings was Śiva himself. That must account for the fact that Śiva is described by Appar as '*Tennavan*' in *padigam* 135. Appar says:—"He is Tennavan, He is Śiva who rules me." Appar alludes to the destruction of a thousand Jains in the place called Paḷayāṛai. Thus the hostility between the Jains and the Hindus could not but have been very pronounced during Appar's time. One stanza of Appar reveals that the local *purāṇa* about the god of Trichinopoly having become a mother for the benefit of a pregnant woman was widely spread even during his time. Poem No. 209 is entirely devoted to the Purāṇam about the Śiva Liṅga. Similarly the poem No. 214 gives an account of what the poet calls the Ādi Purāṇam.

We notice that in Appar's *Kṣētrakkōvait-tiruṭ-Tāṇḍakam* he mentions Perundurai in the 2nd stanza. This raises the very important issue about the date of Māṇikkavāśagar, for according to the account about it, that was the shrine built by him in a place where there was no temple before. If this tradition is true, then certainly Māṇikkavāśagar, must have been Appar's contemporary or must have lived before him. The general trend of opinion till now is that Māṇikkavāśagar was later than Appar. We shall enquire into the question later on in greater detail.

In *padigam* 301 Appar says "Śiva is He whose name is borne as an ornament by the kings who rule the world." When Appar speaks of *Nila Vēndar*, we may take it that he refers only to the kings who bore Śiva's name. One of the characteristic names of Śiva was 'Jaṭila' or Śaḍaiya because it has direct reference to the 'Jaṭā' or tuft. But was there a Śaḍaiya contemporary of Appar ? Perhaps he was referring to Raṇadhīra, son of Ninra Śir Neḍumāra Nāyanār. In that case, Appar must have become very old when Raṇadhīra was king. Again, if we take it that Appar was referring to Pallava kings, we have two Paramēśvaras to whom he could have referred.

Another interesting detail that we get from Appar is his reference to the Śaṅgam or the Tamil academy; he says "Śiva is He who mounted the Śaṅgam platform as a good poet, and gave the gold purse to Darumi."

The allusion here is to the story of the controversy between the Śaṅgam poet Nakkīrar and god Śiva himself. It is narrated in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍaḷ Purāṇam*. Briefly told the story is as follows:—Once a Pāṇḍya king felt that his queen's hair had some kind of natural fragrance. A doubt crossed his mind as to whether human hair could have natural fragrance, or could be rendered fragrant only through art. Keeping this in mind, he went to the Śaṅgam the next day and suspended a bag containing one thousand gold pieces telling the assembled poets that the sum was to be given as a prize to any one who would write a song clearing the doubt he had in his mind. Several attempts were made by several great poets, but none had any bearing upon what the monarch had in his mind. At that time, the temple priest Darumi, who was suffering from extreme poverty, requested god to help him out of his penury so that he might marry and have issue. The god gave him a song and asked him to go to the Śaṅgam with it. The poem was not accepted by the Śaṅgam poets, thought the monarch was pleased with it. Nakkīrar said that it contained a flaw. The poor priest did not know what to do, and so he once again appealed to God Śiva who thereupon went to the Śaṅgam, and cursed Nakkīrar for his conceit. Nakkīrar was almost burnt up with the heat of Śiva's third eye and he jumped into the lotus tank. Darumi got the purse. The poet Nakkīrar, also, was later on pardoned.

The song that was the subject-matter of all that controversy is stated in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍaḷ Purāṇam* to begin with the words 'Koṇgu tērvāḷkkai.' That stanza is found grouped in the Śaṅgam work called *Kurundogai*, and it is stated that the author was Iraiyanār. Now 'Iraiyanār' is the name applied by the Tamil scholars of the early centuries to God Śiva *(cf.* Iraiyanār Agapporul). The stanza means:—"O! fair-winged bee, you spend your time gathering flower-dust ! Do not speak out of love, but speak out the

truth. Is there any among the flowers known to you that is more fragrant than the hair of this damsel who is most loving, has the grace of a peacock and has beautiful rows of teeth ?"

So far as our present purpose is concerned, we have merely to note that some of the stories of the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal-purāṇam* had already become widely current in the country during the time of Appar.

In the poem called *Aḍaivu Tiruttāṇḍagam*, Appar gives an account of several temples in the Tamil country. He divided them into several groups according to their names. In the first stanza he speaks of the *Paḷḷis*, in the second, of the *Vīraṭṭānams*, in the third, of the *Kuḍis*, in the fourth of the eight. These he seems to be referring to the seventy and Ūrs, and in the fifth of *Kōyils*. In speaking of the *kōyils*, he speaks of the '*Peruṅgōyil* seventy and odd temples erected, according to the *periyatirumoḷi* by Kōcceṅgaṇ. It is to be remembered that all the temples built by Kōcceṅgaṇ were built of brick, and not of stone. In the 6th stanza, Appar speaks of the *Kāḍus*, in the 7th of the *Vāyils*, in the 8th of the *Śurams*, in the 9th of the *Malais*, in the 10th of the *Kuḷams* and *Kaḷams* and in the 11th of the *Turais*. Once again, there is a mention of Perundurai, the place of importance in connection with Māṇikka vāśagar.

6
ARDHANĀRIŚVARA

Though there are enough materials to show that the cult of Ardhanārīśvara was prevalent during the period with which we are concerned here, no definite evidence is available providing the existence of a sect following the cult. Like the cults of Śītalā, Manasā etc., the cult had no doubt occasional votaries; no sect, however, centred round it. Icons show how the cult was taking shape in different periods while the later literary texts evolved legends and principles of inconography to explain the same. So we have to note first the icons and then the texts for a proper understanding of the theme.

To start with, there are some iconographical types showing the existence of cult akin to the later Ardhanārīśvara even before the period under review. A study of these early finds reveals the gradual development of the later Ardhanārīśvara image. Thus a terracotta bust of an androgynous figure was found by J. Marshall during his excavations at Taxila. The figure which comes from the late Śaka-Pārthian lavels is described as such—"The breasts are prominent, like those of a woman, but the head is bearded and there are traces of a moustache painted in Black Pigment. Nose damaged, upper portion of head, left eye and ear missing, crude workmanship." In this connection we may mention the head of an Ardhanārīśvara image (now in the Mathura museum) which has been discovered from Rājghāṭ. In it the right side, *i.e.*, male has matted hair in the jaṭājuṭa style with the crescent moon and the *kapāla*. The coiffure on the other side of the head appears to be well-combed, dressed and bedecked with flowers. The image must have had three eyes, the third eye being, perhaps, chipped off. The right ear has been completely damaged while from the left ear hangs a *patra-kuṇḍala*.

Another such terracotta seal has been unearthed from Vaiśālī, *i.e.*, modern Basarth in the *Vaiśāli* district of Bihar. The excavator, D.B. Spooner, gives the following description: "a tall female figure standing facing, with the upper of the body bent considerably to the proper left, left hand on hip; right extended toward the right as in the *varada-mudrā*. The figure is seemingly nude, but there are draperies floating to left and right from the level of the waist, and some garland or drapery pendent in front, as though suspended from a girdle around the waist;...the most curious feature of all is the head-dress which she wears, like a single high horn with streamer floating to the (proper) left. A careful observation of the seal according to the same authority will reveal the salient

features of a half-man half-woman figure. In the first place, the breast on the left is remarkably prominent when compared with the one on the right. Further, one cannot fail to notice the *ūrdhvaliṅga* shown above the waist. The tiara seen only on the right half is nothing but the *jaṭāmukuṭa* of Śiva and the left is shown as the part of the female coiffure. This seal may be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Such a figure can also be seen in a stele in the Mathurā Museum. The stele consists of four standing figures of which two are male, one female and on combining the aspects of both. The last appears first in the stele. This image has only two hands, the right one in *abhaya-mudrā* while the left holds a round mirror. The head-dress on the right is *jaṭājuṭa*. The female coiffure on the left is not discernible clearly. Earrings in both the ears are alike. The distinguishing features of the figure are, however, the prominent rounded breast on the left and the *Ūrdhvaliṅga* of the male half. The girdle and the garments are appropriately shown on the respective halves. Others in the group represent respectively Viṣṇu, Gajalakṣmi and Kubera. This stele representation is the earliest Kuṣāṇa image of Ardhanārīśvara and incidentally in Indian art also. A.K. Coomaraswamy remark that "an image of Ardhanārīśvara (the combination of Śiva and Devi in one half-male, half-female figure) is unmistakably described by a Greek author, Stabaeus (fl. ca 500 A.D), quoting Bardasanes, who reports the account of an Indian who visited Syṛia in the time of Antoninus of Emesa, *i.e.*, Elagabalkus, who reigned 218-22 A.D." Thus there is no denying the fact that the Kuṣāṇa and the Greek sculptors conceived this form, but their successors, i.e., the Gupta sculptors perfected it with masterly craftsmanship.

Coming to our period, we find a figure of Śiva in the Ardhanārīśvara form in a temple at Khandela in the Shekhavati region in Rajasthan which was constructed by a Vaiśya Āditya Nāga in v.s. 701 (644 A.D.). A very nice specimen of a standing Ardhanārīśvara image of about 8th century A.D. is also preserved in the personal collection of the Mahārājā of Jaipur. A partly mutilated life-size Ardhanārīśvara image has been found at Sagar.

Again, in one of the Nāgārajunī Hill Caves—the Vadāthika Cave, king Anantavarman of the Maukharī dynasty set up an image of Ardhanārīśvara. The epigraphic evidences also throw light on the existence of this type of combined icon in other parts of north India. An interesting specimen of Ardhanārīśvara form of the late Pāla period hailing from the village of Pūrapārā near Rampala of East Bengal, is now preserved in the Rājsāhi Museum. While studying this image of Ardhanārīśvara N.K. Bhaṭṭaśālī notes "The image appears to have had only two arms. One arm is broken away at the shoulder and the other at the elbow, and the lower part of the image beneath the knee is altogether missing. The face has also been slightly scratched in places...The contrast of the male and the female halves of the image has been ably shown and the careful observer can readily mark the differences between the right and the left halves, in physiognomy, ornaments and dress."

Besides, a number of such composite images have been discovered from the districts of Khulna, Dacca and Dinajpura. A Sena record unearthd from Naihāṭī opens with an invocation to the dancing Ardhanārīśvara: "May Ardhanārīśvara in one half of

whose body is the movement produced by the charming gesticulation of the effort of dancing (both crowning with success the labour of this two fold play) and who is, as it were, the limitless ocean of delight consisting the waves of sound of Nandi song unfolded in the performance of Śiva's dance at the twilight of Destruction, bring prosperity unto you."

An eight-armed dancing figure of Ardhanārīśvara has been beautifully depicted in low relief in shallow rectangular niches of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa. "The breast on the female part has broken off. The upper two female hands hold a mirror and a book and the upper male hands have a lute and an *akṣa-mālā*. The other hands are broken. In the pedestals are to be seen two skeleton-shaped *pretas* or spirits." In the western *vāḍa* of the Vaital temple of Bhuvaneśvara, an image of this type stands in the central niche, holding a *japamālā* in the male hand and mirror in the female one. On the male part the membrum virile has been shown erect. Nandi stands behind the deity.

In Assam such combined image type is known as Ardhayuvatiśvara. In the Subhaṅkarapataka and Khonāmukhi grants, Śiva is conceived of as having half his form as woman (*ardhayuvatiśvara*) and 'having on (one side of) the neck a blue lotus, (on the other side) a jewelled hood of serpent attached; (on one side) a lofty breast painted with saffron, (the other side) besmeared with ashes; who thus appears as it were an amalgamated creation of the amorous and the dreadful sentiments.'

Coming to the southern side of the Vidhyan range we find that this syncretic icon, though a later development, has been well described by the poets of the land. Thus in his description Arurar says—'Śiva is always found inseparable in the representations with the Mother Goddess.' In another place the poet describes this composite deity as such—"The music or the fame sung by His faultless devotees—the silk (of the Mother), the loin cloth and the skin at the waist (of the Father), the strong wrestling like strong and good looking shoulder, the mark of the Lady Umā's embrace or part in the chest, full of the sacred ash—these when shall I praise repeating what all I have learnt for praising and when shall I worship them."

Sambandar and Māṇikkavācaka also refer to this form of the deity. Mention may be made in this connection that Sambandar "has tried to express the existence of the "eternal feminine" in deity by giving Śiva a lady who not only is His consort, but is actually a part of Him." This is undoubtedly an Ardhanārīśvara mūrti of tiruvannāmālai in North Arcot.

He is our only Lord, conjoined still
To her whose breast no sucking lips have known.
They who in Annāmālai's holy hill,
where falling waters noisy chatter down
And the hill glistens gem-like, bow before
Our great one who is lord and lady too,
Unfailingly for them shall be no more
Dread fruit of good and bad deed they may do.

G.N. Rao has given as many as eight different illustrations of this deity hailing from the different parts of South India is his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. In the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kāñcīpuram there is a three-armed Ardhanārīśvara icon which is no doubt very interesting. The front right hand is holding a trident by its lower and while the back fore arm on the right is raised up to the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and is holding a cobra by its tail whilst the cobra hangs down lifting up its hood near the hand holding the trident. The left hand on the Mother's side holds a *vīnā* and its elbow rests upon the sitting bull.

Another combined-image of this deity carving in the rock-cut temple at Bādāmi may also be mentioned in this connection. Here the image has four arms; in one of the right hands he hold the *paraśu*, while the remaining right and one of the left hands hold a *vīnā*. There is *sarpa-kuṇḍala* on the right ear and a snake ornament on the right arm. The *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the crescent moon, the skull and other ornaments are also there with the *yajñopavita* on the right half of the image. The other side of the image has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, a knot of hair with bans of jeweled ornaments running across it, some beautiful ornaments placed on each arms. The upper hand holds a *nilotpala* flower. To the right side of Śiva is the bull Nandī. Behind the bull is a skinny human figure who may be identified with Bhṛṅgi, the worshipper of Śiva alone. Similar type of image is found even in Java and the Eastern Archipelago, where the inscriptions explain that in this form Śakti and Śiva are conceived as essentially one and the same.

This form of image of the Coḷa period has been found in the Bṛhadiśvara Temple, Tanjore. The figure has three hands, two on the right and one on the left; his right half being male, and the left half female. Of the two right hands, the back hand holds a *triśūla*, while the front is in the *varada* pose. The left hand holds a *nilotpala* flower with the forearm having a number of bracelets. The discrimination of the garments and ornaments of the two sides of the body may be distinctly observed. But the Darasuram Ardhanārīśvara image consisting of three faces and eight arms is very significant. The left and the right sides, i.e., Pārvati and Śiva respectively, are distinctly demarcated but the three faces appear to be somewhat peculiar. "In no Sanskrit work that has been examined do we meet with a description of Ardhanārīśvara which agrees with this image..." J.N. Banerjea suggests that "the faces may emphasise the *ugra, saumya* (aspects of Śiva), and Umā aspects of the god." It is indeed a composite form of Śiva where his two aspects, *saumya* as well as *ghora*, are combined with his Śakti Umā. In support of his view he cites the authority of the Great Epic where Śiva has two *tanus* (forms), *Śiva* and *ghora* (*dve tanu tasya devasya...ghoram anyam śivam anyam*)...

The iconographic motif of Ardhanārīśvara, however, was evolved long before the explanatory myths of the *Purāṇas* came to be fabricated. In India the conception of composite figure of male and female seems to be found in the *Yama-yāmī* episode of the *Vedic* literature which we have mentioned earlier. It is interesting to note that such an idea of man and woman finds place in the mythology and sculpture of the Greeks also. In the Greek mythology we find that the son of Hermes and Aprodite, *i.e.*, Eros, was reared by the mountain nymphs of Ida. When he attained manhood, wild as he was, he roamed

about the country side admiring the rivers, springs and fountains wherever he went. Thus wandering, he came to the fountains of the nymph Salmakis. The nymph was enamoured of his beauty and fell in love with him. Eros repulsed her, but could not resist the temptation for the crystal clear water of the fountain. He plunged into it, when Salmakis embraced him and became one with Eros. Thus, the son of Hermes and Aphrodite having merged with the fountain nymph Salmakis became Hermaphroditos, a man-woman, in retaining however his manhood.

A Phyrygian counterpart of this story may be mentioned in this connection. The goddess is known as Agdistis whose origin may be recounted as follows: Once Zeus fell asleep on the Agdos rock, near Pessinous, which had assumed the form of the Great Mother. As he slept or strove with the Goddess his semen fell and after a lapse of ten months, the Agdos rock burst, bringing forth a hideous being of two-fold sex and two-fold lust. These episodes perhaps belonged to the nearly Hellenistic period and became a favourite theme in later Greek art. Thus the conception of the composite figure of both India and Greece belongs to hoary antiquity.

From the philosophical point of view it may be said that the Indian Ardhanārīśvara is surely the symbol of the union of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, the active and passive forces. Thus, V.S. Agrawala observes. "On the philosophic side it represented the two fundamentally opposed cosmic force, *viz., Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa,* which are constantly drawn together to embrace and fuse with each other but are separated by intervening axis." This dual conception of the universe, *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti,* maintained a strong hold on the religion of the Hindus since early times. Another conception, though rather primitive, also played a part in the rise of the icons. It is an admitted fact, however, that this dual conception or the hermaphrodite figure was conceived basically as a symbol of fertility and luxuriant growth. "The earth after bearing each successive harvest becomes exhausted, and that if she is to continue to discharge her functions, she must be periodically refreshed and roused to new activity, and further that "the fertility of the soil was supposed to depend upon the periodical marriage of mother earth with the male consort." Here Śiva is the impersonation of the eternal reproductive power of Nature, perpetually reintegrating after disintegration." It is a "duality in unity," the underlying principle being "a sexual dualism."

It may be noted in this connection that the Ardhanārīśvara form is the composite aspect of *Linga* and *Yoni*. Pārvati represents the *Yoni* and Śiva the *Liṅga* And the union of the two creates the world. The goddess is the supreme power of the transcendent creator. Thus according to V.S. Agarwala "the Purāṇa writers dilate on the Ardhanārīśvara Śiva comprised of the half male and half female aspects giving to it a metaphysical exposition as well as an iconographic formulation."

Iconographic texts like the *Śilparatna* and the *Āgamic* texts, *viz.*, the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Kāmikāgama* the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Kāraṇāgama* furnish us with elaborate information regarding the formation of the image of Ardhanārīśvara. Almost all the *Āgamas*, however, gives us a similar account of the formation of this composite icons. The right half is male and the left half is female (*Dakṣiṇārdhe haraṁ caiva vāmārdhe*

Pārvatī tathā) and therefore the right half has a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with crescent moon (*Sajaṭāmukuṭaṁ dakṣam śaśvardhāṅkitamagrajāḥ*); the right ear has a *kuṇḍala*; the right half of the forehead has one half of an eye (*Lalāṭaṁ dakṣiṇe bhāge nayanārdjeṇa saṁyuktam*); the whole of the right side is adorned with ornaments peculiar to Śiva and the garment should cover the body below the loins only up to the knee, the garment being the tiger's skin (*Vyāghrājiṇambaraṁ savyapādaṁ Kuñcitamiṣyate*). On the right part of the chest there is the *nāga yajñopavīta* and on the loins of the same side, the *sarpamekhalā* or girdle of snakes. The right half is besmeared with ashes.

Coming to the left side, there is the *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and a half *tilaka* (*Karaṇḍamukuṭam vāmamalakera samanvitam*). The left eye is painted with collyrium and the left ear wears a *vālikā*. There is one bosom on the left and there are ornaments fit for women. This half is smeared with saffron and draped in coloured-silk saree up to the ankles (*Vāme lamvaparidhānaṁ kaṭisūtratrayānvitam*). The appearance of the left-side should be pacific while the remaining half should be terrific (*Dakṣiṇe raudradṛṣṭissyāt vāmapārśve tu śītalam*).

If there are four hands, the two on the right keep the *abhaya* pose and the *Paraśu*, or the *varada* pose and the trident, or the *abhaya* pose and *taṅka* or the trident and the *akṣamālā*. In some cases, one arm is bent resting on the bull, while the other keeps the *abhaya* pose. Of the two left arms, one is bent and resting on the bull, whilst the other, is let down hanging, or, hold the blue lily ore the blue lotus. If there are only two arms, the right, is the *varada* pose, or holds a skull, whilst the left either is let down hanging, or, keeps a mirror or a flower, or rests on the head of the bull. The *Āgamas* also contemplate three arms, when there is only one hand on the left half, holding a flower or a mirror or a parrot, adorned with armlets, wristlets, bangles and other ornaments.

Puṣpadanta who may be placed in the period of the Gupta literary epoch refers to this form in his *Mahimnastava*. This syncretic icon, according to him, is known as *dehārdhaghaṭana*. Utpala, while commenting on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* describes this type of Śiva image as Ardha gaurīśvara which is undoubtedly the same as Ardhanārīśvara. Hemādri in the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* describes the image of Ardhanārīśvara as having four arms.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives a detailed description of such an image. The *Purāṇas*, however, invented many interesting episodes regarding the emergence of this androgynous form of Śiva. In the *Skanda Purāṇa* it is stated that "when Brahmā asked Rudra to divide himself, the latter divided himself into the male and the female forms." In another place of the same *Purāṇa* it is stated that on one occasion Pārvatī said, "Let me reside with you all the while embracing you limb by limb." Thus, the form of Śiva became androgynous. The *Śiva Purāṇa* as noted by G.N. Rao also yields an interesting story about the composite form of Śiva or Ardhanārīśvara, *i.e.*, half-male and half-female. It runs as follows: Brahmā first begot a number of male beings, the Prajāpatis, and commanded them to create various other beings. They were found later to be unfit for the task for which they were intended and Brahmā, feeling uneasy at the slow progress of creation, contemplated on Maheśvara. The latter appeared before him in a composite form of a male-female and asked him to cease feeling distressed. Hither to, it had not occurred to

Brahmā to create a female also, and at the sight of this composite form of Maheśvara he realised his error; thereupon he prayed to the female half of Maheśvara to give him a female to proceed with the act of creation. Brahmā's request was complied with and the creation went on afterwards very well. This tory accounts for the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* also mentions this form of Śiva.

G.N. Rao has mentioned another interesting *Purāṇic* account of the syncretic form of Śiva. It is stated that one occasion the *Devas* and *Ṛṣis* circumambulated Śiva and Pārvati on Kailāsa mountain, but the *Ṛṣi* Bhṛṅgī being an ardent devotee of Śiva went around the god alone. Pārvati grew angry and reduced the sage to a skin-covered skeleton, and in this state Bhṛṅgī was unable to stand erect on his two skinny legs. Seeing his pitiable condition Śiva took pity on him and provided a third leg. Bhṛṅgī was pleased by this act of Śiva. But to save Pārvati honour, Śiva united his body with his consort's, in order that Bhṛṅgī would be compelled to pay homage to the goddess, while paying his respects to him. Thus was the Ardhanārīśvara form assumed by Śiva.

This composite image is described in the *Bṛhan-Nāradīya Purāṇa* as a person of half black and half yellow form, nude on one side and clothed on the other, wearning skulls and a garland of lotuses in the two halves respectively, showing the male feature no the right and the female characteristics on the left.

Another interesting episode regarding the amalgamation of Śiva and Gauri into one body is found in the Kālikā Purāṇa. It is stated that one day, Gauri's form was reflect on the crystal like breast of Śiva. The jealous wife mistook the reflection to be another and a more favoured woman and a conjugal conflict occurred. When amiable relations were restored, the goddess expressed a desire to be so united with her lord as to leave no possibility of the recurrence of a feeling of separation. They accordingly, allowed their bodies to be half-fused into each other and thus was created the united Ardhanārīśvara.

All these evidences clearly demonstrate that this composite sub-sect once enjoyed a high position in the Hindu religion; although it is uncertain as to when and how this conception of joint-cult system of worship faded out. Anyway, the reason or reasons behind the emergence of this syncretic system of worship undoubtedly the same which we have discussed in the chapter of the Hari hara sub-sect. The popularity of this combined form of Śiva in the early mediaeval period is further proved by the fact that various composite forms of deities like the Umā-Mheśvara, Kalyāṇa-sundara, Gaṅgā-dharạ were worshipped from this time onwards. The different iconographical forms of Śiva with the Devī have been studied in the following pages.

THE UMĀ-MAHEŚVARA ICONS

Umā-Maheśvara is another composite form that prevailed throughout India in the early mediaeval period. We have already noticed that in spite of the attitude of deep devotion and attachment to particular deities by followers of various sects, some sort of syncretism not only in idea, but also in practical forms of worship developed in the course

of time (*e.g.* Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, etc.). Among the type of mixed icons popular in the period of our survey is that generally known as Umā-Maheśvara or Hara-Gauri. The *Āgamic* literatures and the iconographic texts referred to this type of image by the name of Umā āliṅgana, Umāsahita Candraśekhara, Somāskanda, etc. In such images we find Umā or Pārvatī with her right hand placed on the right shoulder of her consort and seated in the *Āliṅgana* or Sukhāsansa pose on the left thigh of the deity. The deity has four arms (sometimes two) and is elaborately dressed and ornamented and seated on a high *āsana*. His right leg rests on the bull. The upper hand to the right holds some objects while the other rests playfully on the chin of the goddess. His lower hand on the opposite side passes round the body of the goddess and supports her left breast. The other one above it grasps a trident entwined by a cobra. The right hand of the goddess passes round his neck, while the left on the right knee (in some cases she holds a mirror). Her vehicle the lion is represented there on whose back her right let rests. The most prominent characteristic of this form is the presence of the crescent moon (*Śaśāṅkaśehara*).

Apart from the iconographic texts we have enough evidences to show that this form of Śiva had been the object of worship from the days of the Great Epic. The following account extracted from the *Anuśāsana-parva* may be mentioned in this connection :

This iconographical form is said to have emerged because of Kṛṣṇa's desire to obtain a son. Jāmbavati, one of Kṛṣṇa's wives, was desire to obtain a son. Jāmbavati, one of Kṛṣṇa's wives, was desirous of obtaining a son as renowned as the sons of Kṛṣṇa by Rukminī. Kṛṣṇa assured her that he would worship Paśupati for obtaining the boon of such a son for her and he thus went to the Himalayas, where Śiva lived. On the way he saw the hermitage of Upamanyu. After a long discourse on the beneficent deeds of Mahādeva, Upamanyu began to practise austerities. Mahādeva, to test Upamanyu's devotion, appeared before him in the form of Indra and offered him many lucrative boons, which Upamanyu refused, and say that he would have boons from Śaṁkara alone. In course of his narrative, Upamanyu says that Mahādeva was the only god, whose organ of generation (*Liṅga*) is worshipped by men. He and Umā were the real creators of animals as these bear the marks of the two and not the discus or the conch-shell or marks of any other god. Eventually Śiva and Umā appeared before Upamanyu, seated on a strong towering Ox, attended on the one side by Brahmadeva seated on the Swan, his vehicle, and on the other, by Nārāyana on Garuḍa with the conch-shell, lotus, etc., and conferred on him all the blessing he desired. This inspired Kṛṣṇa also entered on a long course of austerities, at the end of which Mahādeva with Umā appeared before him in same manner as they did to Upamanyu.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Śiva-Tāṇḍava-stotra* mention this form of Śiva. This conception of the deity was also known to the author of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. According to Varāhamihira, Śiva in his human form was generally sculptured with a third eye in the front, a crescent moon in his head, a trident in his right arm and Gaurī or Umā, his consort, on the left. The invocatory verse of the Sanskrit drama *Mṛccha-kaṭika* refers to this particular form of Śiva. It describes that the lightning-like arm of Gauri was placed against the blue neck of Śiva.

Exhaustive directions regarding the composition of this type of image is to be found in the *Matsya Purāṇa.* According to this *Purāṇa* the upper and lower right hands of the god should hold the *śūla* and the lotus, while the lower left hand should hold the breast of the goddess seated on his lap. The right hand of the goddess should be placed on the left shoulder of Śiva, while her left hand will carry either a lotus or mirror. Reference to another *Purāṇic* passage has been made by Paṇḍit Bipin Chandra Kāvyaratna, but he does not mention the name of the Purāṇa. The importance of the description, as pointed by N.K. Bhaṭṭaśāli, lies in the fact that images depicting Śiva in the chin-touching attitude are often found in Bengal and this particular trait of the god is given in no other invocation of the *Āliṅgana-mūrti.*

A large number of archaeological remains discovered from different parts of this country show the popularity of this form of image. One of the earliest references to this type may be found to the unique gold plaque in the collection of the P.K. Jalan of Patna. K.P. Jayaswal identified the two figures side by side—one male and the other female—the two cult deities Hara and Pārvati. According to him it ought to be dated in the Maurya period. But justifiable doubts have been expressed by competent scholars with regard to the genuineness of this metal plaque.

An interesting and fine specimen of Hara-Gauri of the Gupta period has been discovered from Kosam. J.N. Banerjea describes it as follows: The ityphallic god stand facing with a slight bend of the body, holding a flask in his left hand (cf. the nectar flask in the hand of the earlier Maitreya figures) with Umā on his left; the goddess holds a *darpaṇa* in her left hand, and though the ornaments on the figures are sparse, the Gupta-sculptor took particular care to give a character to the head-gear of the divine couple. Their faces are not devoid of expression, but none of the sublime introspection of the Khi-chin sculpture is present there. The inscription on the pedestal bears a date in the reign of Kamāragupta I. Among the archaeological remains of the period of the Maukharis unearthed from Deo-Baramark which lies to the south west of Arrah the image of the Umā-maheśvara is very common. "One of the images of Śiva (in Umā-maheśvara) as pointed out by E.A. Pires, "wears a singularly novel and elongated sort of head-dress, very minutely engraved and artistically embellished." Another sculptural representation of this deity dated c. seventh-eighth century A.D. has been found near Faridkot Gurudwar, 3 miles north-west of Kurushetra. Again the coins issued by *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Mahārāja* Harṣadeva shows the strong establishment of this form in the society during the first half of the seventh century. A.D. On the reverse of this coin, Śiva and Pārvati are shown seated on Nandi. Śiva is four-handed and holds the *triśūla* and other *āyūdhas.* Pārvati is seated gracefully on the left side of Śiva.

A large number of such composite images have been discovered from various places of Bihar, Benaras and Mathura. These images generally represent the divine couple leaning on Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva. Śiva is ithypallic, and both the god and goddess hold *nīlotpala* buds in their hands. An image of the Allahabad Municipal Museum shows the four-armed Śiva and Pārvati seated on a lotus flower. Pārvati is seated on the left lap of her consort and her left hand is flung round his neck. The remaining hands of

the goddess are broken. Śiva is touching the breast of Pārvati with one of his left hands. The left leg of the god is placed on a lotus springing from a common stalk. A headless bull and a lion (*i.e.*, the *vāhanas* of Śiva and Pārvati respectively) can be seen below the throne. On each side of it can be seen standing and seated attendants. There is an ornamental halo behind the head of Śiva. On each side of his head occur representations of the various Brāhmaṇical deities. At the projection a seated figure in the *dhyāna mudrā* is seen.

In Eastern India, particularly in Bengal, this variety was very popular one and is frequently found at different sites. These composite images seem to have won the hearts of the people of Bengal in the Pāla-Sena period. It is stated in the *Rāmacarita*, that Bhīma (the Kaivarta ruler) worshipped this form of the deity. It is no wonder that in this region, where the *Tāntrika* cult developed to a great extent, the Umā-Maheśvara or *Āliṅgana-mūrti* in the *sukhāsana* and *Śivakaṇṭhāvilagṇa* pose would be heartily welcome.

The Madhainagara Copper plate and the Bhawal plate of Lakṣaṇasena mention this form of Śiva. K.N. Dikshit tries to identify the representation of such a type in a relief panel of Paharpur. N.K. Bhaṭṭaśāli has mentioned similar sculptural icons hailing from different villages of Bengal. Of these images one octo alloy metal may be mentioned in this connection—"In the right hand he holds what appears to be lotusbud. The left hand is placed on the left breast of Gaurī. The trident of Śiva is seen to the right, planted firmly in the ground. The goddess has a circular mirror in her left hand. The right is placed on the left thigh of the god. The Bull and the Lion are depicted at the bottom; and two pairs of devotees are on either side." Sometimes in the panel we find the existence of Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, the Bull, the Lion and the skeleton-lie Bhṛṅgi.

Apart from these there are other varieties of composite images with legends on the pedestals. "One of these images in the Dacca Museum bears the label of *Kaliṅgā Maheśvaraḥ, i.e.*, Maheśvara and his wife, in the Bengali script of the 12th. century A.D. Labels such as *Pārvatīśaṁkarau, Bābhravikāyā*, etc. have also been met with on the pedestal of these Āliṅgana images. As the contemporary inscribed labels read different names but denote the same image, so different *Tantras* and *Purāṇas* also give the image of different names."

An interesting image of Hara-Gauri of the tenth century A.D. has been found in a village called Pātilapāḍā in the district of Burdwan, West Bengal. The description of the panel is as follows:

"Śiva is seated at ease in a stony cushion, supported on a high throne, alongwith Pārvatī. She rests on his lap, and the couple stare at each other with a gaze that is wistful but sublime...He is four-armed. In his upper right hand, he holds a trident. The upper left, supported on the shoulders of his consort, carries a rosary of beads. With his normal hands, he clasps his wife round the back and touches her chin. On his right shoulder is a cobra with its hood. To counter–act any erotic suggestion, the ¯urdhva-liṅga is prominently shown. Pārvatī is only two-armed. Her right hand is thrown round Śiva's back. The other hand, with a noose, is hung at ease...The carries of the deities, Śiva bull and Pārvatī's lion, are seen below. They support the feet of their respective deities." The description reminds us of the account of the *Mahābhārata* where Upamanyu says—"Mahādeva is the

only god whose organ of generation (*liṅga*) is worshipped by men. He and Umā are the real creators of animals..."

The discovery of some terracotta figurines in Kosam, Bhita, Rang mahal and Rajghat has decidedly proved the immense popularity of this syncretic form. So far as the Kosam specimen is concerned J.N. Banerjee observes that it is remarkably similar to a stone sculpture of an image of Śiva-Pārvati dated in the 139th year of the Gupta era (*i.e.*, 456 A.D.). He naturally identifies the Kosam specimen as Śiva-Pārvati, Cunningham who discovered his stone image of Śiva-Pārvati remarks—"The two figures are standing side by side, ech with the right hand raised and the open palm turned to the front. In his left hand Śiva holds a water-vessel, while Pārvati carries a Triśūla. Fleet edorsed this view by pointing out that 'the inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Śiva and Pārvati.' There are other terracotta figurines representing Śiva and Pārvati but they are much mutilated and thus, it is not possible to note all the iconographical details with certainly. However, it seems that both Śiva and Pārvati are two-armed.

The speciality of this terracotta representation is that while in the stone image Śiva has Jaṭā and Pārvati wears a short crown, in the terracotta specimen Śiva and Pārvati put on high head-dresses. Regarding the Bhita specimen, the most conclusive evidence of its being an image of Śiva and Pārvati is the representation of a couchant bull and a couchant lion, the respective *vāhanas* of Śiva and Pārvati. A similar image is also found in the rock-cut sculpture at Ellora. In the Rangmahal figurines Śiva and Pārvati took their seat on their respective *vāhanas*. Moreover, there seems to be the presence of the third-eye on the forehead of Śiva. But the peculiarity of this image is that it bears three heads distinctly. It is a quite possible that other two heads which are relevant in the *pañcānana*-variety of Śiva are not shown as those heads are in the back portion of the head. Śiva holds in the left hand the Kamaṇḍal and has the right hand touching the chest. Of the two hands of Pārvati the right one is broken while the other holds a *darpaṇa*.

G.N. Rao has furnished us with an exhaustive account of the prevalence of this type in the south of the Vindhyan range, so we need not consider these iconographical representations that have been unearthed from that art of the country. It should be noted in this connection that the popularity of this form of image was not confined to India alone. Thus, among the bas-reliefs of Burma (now in the Rangoon Museum) we find an image of Śiva and Pārvati. The relief here 'represents a god seated in *lilāsana* on a lotus pedestal with a goddess seated between the two arms to his left.' They hold their respective emblems. N.R. Ray identifies them with Śiva and Pārvati. While studying this image. A.K. Coomaraswamy endorsed this view and further pointed out that 'the position and attitude of the two figures have a suggestive similarity with those of the famous Śiva-Pārvati relief at Ellora' An Umā-Maheśvara group, dated in the reign of Guṇakāmadeva (c. 7th century A.D.) has also been discovered from Kathmandu, Nepal.

It should be remembered that with the introduction of *Tāntricism* the original method of worship was modified and it encouraged the introduction of combined images of Śiva and his female energy on a large scale. The abundance of composite images of Śiva and Pārvati indicate that the devotees worshipped Śiva and his Śakti in the Tāntrika

form, which popularised this type of a combined cult. It is to be noted in this connection that the *Tāntrika* worshippers of Tripurasundarī, another name of Umā or Pārvatī, are required to mediate on the Devī as seated on the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmāsana and these composite images were used by them as aids for the correct performance of the *dhyāna yoga*.

Literary and archaeological materials have shown that the cult of Umā-Maheśvara was prevalent in India and abroad, but we have no definite evidence at our disposal proving the existence of a Śaiva sect following the cult. Some scholars, however, argue that the Soma-siddhāntins, a sub-sect of the Śaivas, were the followers of this particular form of the deity. But this assumption of the scholars is not convincing. Like the cult of Hari-hara, Ardhanārīśvara, etc. this cult had occasional votaries, but had not any particular sect. This syncretistic image primarily expressed the spirit of reconciliation and cordial relations that prevailed among the followers of different sects.

THE KALYĀṆA-SUNDARA

Among the various iconographic representation of Śiva with the Mother-goddess (Pārvati), the Kalyāṇa-sundara is an interesting and fascinating one belonging to the *Sauma* or *Śānt*a group. It is a composite picture representing the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is also known as Vaivāhika or Pāṇigrahaṇa *mūrti*. The story behind the rise of this form of image is given in the *Purāṇas*. The *Varāha Purāṇa* contains the following account : Śiva assuming the form of an old, decrepit Brāhmaṇa, approached Pārvatī, who was absorbed in her austerities, and begged for food, as he was feeling very hungry. Pārvatī was pleased to ask him to finish his bath and other ablutions and take a meal. The old man went to the river very near the hermitage of Pārvatī and as soon as he got down into the water contrived to be caught by a crocodile. He called out to Pārvatī for help. Pārvatiā came to the river side, but she could not stretch her arm, which was never meant to be held by others than that of her lord, Śiva, even in helping others. Perplexed with this feeling, she was standing still for some moments but the danger of the guest being swallowed by the crocodile very soon became patent to her and she was obliged to give up her vow of not being touched by a hand other than that of Śiva; she stretched out her arm and took hold of that of the old Brāhmaṇa and pulled him out of the water and the crocodile also left him. Pleased with Pārvatī, Śiva showed his real self to her and she was immensely gratified with her lord for having saved her from being held up to obloquy for having caught hold of hand other than Śiva. She dedicated herself to Śiva and the regular marriage was celebrated later on.

In the account of the *Matsya Purāṇa* we find that the *Devas* assembled the items of decorartion (*divya maṇḍana saṁbhāra*) on the Gandhamādana mountain for the marriage ceremony of Śiva with the Himālaya's daughter Pārvatī. Cāmuṇḍā gave him a *kapāla-mālā*, Indra the elephant skin, Vāyu adorned his bull, Sūrya, Candra and Agni became the lights in his three eyes. Kebera gave him a necklace of *mahāratnas*, Varuṇa a garland of unfading flowers (*sthaṣṇu prasūnaveṣṭitā*) and the seven oceans became a mirror for him and the god was pleased to have a vision of his form in the waters of the ocean.

The detailed instruction about the composition of this beautiful image of Śiva may be found in the *Āgamic* texts like the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama, Uttara-kāmikāgama, Purva-kāraṇāgama* and the *Śilparatna*. It is stated in these texts that Śiva should be sculptured as standing firmly on the left leg and with the right one resting upon the ground somewhat bent. The front right hand should be stretched out to receive the right hand of Pārvati, the front left arm should be held in the *varada* pose. There should be a *paraśu* in the back right arm and in the back left one the *mṛga*. The head of the deity should be adorned with *jaṭāmukuṭa* and all other parts of the body with appropriate ornaments (*Jaṭāmukuṭa-saṁyuktam sarvābha-raṇabhūṣitam*). In front of Śiva and seated on *padmāsana* should be Brahmā doing *homa* or making offerings to the fire (*Devāgre kārayekuṇḍe tatra homam Prajāpati*). He should be represented with four faces and four arms and other necessary ornaments. On the panel of the scene of the marriage of Pārvati with Śiva there should be the standing figure of Viṣṇu and his consort, Lakṣmi, the eight Vidyādharas, Aṣṭadikpālas, Siddhas, Yakṣas, Ṛṣis, Gandharvas, the Mātṛkās and a host of other gods with their respective consorts.

Among the different mediaval sculptural specimens illustrating the theme of Śiva's marriage with Umā, the Elephanta relief, a sublime product of Indian artistic genius, is undoubtedly an outstanding example. This mutilated stone relief is described as follows: Śiva is standing with Pārvati to his right; his front right hand as usual stretched out to receive that of Pārvati. The figure of Pārvati is of striking beauty; her slightly bent head and down-cast look depict an amount of shyness; her narrow waist and the broad hip, the well-formed bosom and the easy posture of the legs all lend a charm to the figure which is all its own. Brahmā is performing the *homa* to the left of Śiva and Lakṣmi is seen standing behind Pārvati with her hands touching her back and behind Lakṣmi stands her consort Viṣṇu with a large pot of water for pouring water at the ceremony of giving the bride to the bridegroom. The figure of a very well built man is to be seen standing behind Pārvati with his right hand bent and resting upon the right shoulder of Pārvati. From the size of the figure and from the fact that it has only two arms, as also from a sort of inferior head-gear, one may presume it represents *Parvatarāja*, the father of Pārvati. If that is he, it is indeed noteworthy to find him in the panel. Below the right hand of this figure is a large drum, also very well carved. A number of gods with their respective goddesses are seen in the air in the attitude of flying and praising the married couple.

Another well known relief of Kalyāṇa-sundara hailing from the caves of Ellora is also also noteworthy. Here we find that "Śiva holding the hand of Pārvati (*pāṇigrahaṇa*, an act obligatory in the Hindu marriage ceremony) occupies the centre of the composition with Brahmā (the officiating priest) seated with the sacred fire to his left, Indra (?) standing behind Brahmā, Viṣṇu (the giver of the bride) and Lakṣmi standing behind Pārvati on the proper right corner; in the two parallel rows above are shown hovering in the sky on their respective mounts the Dikpālas (Varuṇa on *makra*, Indra on an elephant,

Agni on a ram, Yama on a buffalo, Vāyu on a stag, Īśāna on a bull and Nairṛta on a man can be recognised), the Vidyādhara couples, the Sādhyas etc." This conception of the deity was widely prevalent during the period of our review. Thus, among the sculpture reliefs on the wall of the Temple of Mallikārjuna or Trailokyeśvara at Pāṭṭadakal which is generally supposed to be a work of the Cālukyan king Vikramāditya II of the eighth century A.D. may be found the scene of the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvati. Other illustrations of this composition are:

(a) One stone panel at Ratanpur (Bilaspur).
(b) Two other stone reliefs from Madura.
(c) One bronze image from Tiruvorriyur.

This iconographical type has also been discovered from the northern part of India. A few rare images depicting the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī have been found in Bihar. In the Patna Museum Collections there are at least two such specimens hailing from the same province. In these specimens Śiva and Pārvatī stand side by side and not in front of each other, Pārvatī standing to his left. The right hand of Pārvatī is placed in one of the right hand of Śiva. The latter has four hands and holds a round object in the upper right hand, and Pārvatī's right hand in the lower one, he also holds a trident in the upper left hand while the lower one rests on his left thigh. Pārvatī holds an indistinct object in her left hand which may be a mirror. Between these two figures is to be found Brahmā with four faces and two hands, seated on the ground. On the pedestal the lion, the *vāhana* of Pārvatī, appears on the right, whereas, the couchant bull of Śiva on the left. There are some other figures in the panel which may be identified with the musicians. A similar aspect of Śiva is also preserved in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad. Among the sculptural collections of this Museum there is an image of Viṣṇu marrying Lakṣmī forming a parallel of Viṣṇu as Kalyāṇasundara.

In Bengal, too there are a few Vaivāhika-mūrtis which, according to N.K. Bhaṭṭaśālī, 'has led to their being confused with Umā-Maheśvara images, which depict Śiva, with his wife seated on his left thigh.' Of the four images of this type, two hailed from the Dacca district while the remaining two were discovered in the district of Bogra. The sculptures hailing from Bogra now preserved in the Rājśāhī Museum and the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*. Bhaṭṭaśālī's observation in this connection is worthnoting—"In the image belonging to the Rajsahi Museum also, Gaurī stands in front of the god. But in the Dacca Pariṣat image, the goddess stands immediately to the left of the god and the actual scene of 'taking the hand' (*Pāṇi-grahaṇa, i.e.* marrying) is depicted,—the god taking the right hand of the bride in his normal right hand. It may be noticed that in the image in the Rajsahi Museum, the god has a *karttarī* (knife) in his right hand, exactly the weapon that every Hindu bride groom in Bengal still has to carry, at the time of marriage."

A beautiful and distinct specimen of this form of image is preserved in the British Museum. The image, from the sculptural point of view, belongs to the Pāla school and is generally ascribed to the eighth or ninth century A.D., R.P. Chanda made the following

study on the panel—"The bride is on the right and the bridegroom on the left. Brahmā, the priest in the centre, is tending the sacrificial fire. Viṣṇu and another male attendant standing on the right and left respectively are offering them the pots of parched grains. The seven planets and the two demons, Rāhu and Ketu, are also witnessing the ceremony standing in a row above. The two Vidyādharas with garlands in hands are flying above, and Śiva's *gaṇas* are singing and dancing below., Śiva's bull is carved in one corner. The bride and the bridegroom themselves are two and four-armed respectively. Śiva's right hand is grasping the right hand of Pārvati, holding a mirror in her other hand. Śiva is holding a lotus flower in his upper right hand and trident his upper left hand and is putting the lower left hand on this left thigh. He has fastened the tiger's skin round his loin and is wearing a garland of skulls round his neck; a garland of pearls serving as his sacred thread."

Like the other interesting anthropomorphic forms of Rudra-Śiva, viz., the Umā-maheśvara, the Ardhanārīśvara, the Harihara, etc., the Kalyāṇasundara or Vaivāhika-mūrti also belonged to the *sauma* or *śānta* group of the iconographic representation. Although the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati is described in the various *Purāṇas*, there is no reference to a *dhyāna* describing the couple in this particular pose. It evidently shows that though it had some occasional votaries, no particular sect centred round it. The conception of this image combines various ideas and customs, and has probably resulted from the fusion of at least two distinct religious creeds (*i.e.*, the Śaivas and the Śaktas), the greatest development of which is illustrated by the Pradyumneśvara motif. In this motif Śiva, Umā, Lakṣmi and Nārayaṇa and are carved on both the sides of statue to harmonise—Harihara, Umā-Maheśvara and Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇa forms. The motive behind the rise of the system of syncretic form of worship is, no doubt, an attempt by the religious teachers belonging to different sectarian group to express a great deal of eclecticism in matters of their respective cults. The representations of all the gods and goddesses in panel clearly indicates the amiable relationship among the various deities of the Hindu pantheon. They are but the same Supreme Being assuming different forms.

THE GAṄDHĀRAMŪRTI

Of the two sub divisions of the anthropomorphic Śiva icons—one of mild disposition (*Saumya*) and the other of fierce disposition (*Raudra*), that have been accepted as objects of worship, at least in some cases, the Gaṅgādhara mūrti is undoubtedly important, and thus, a special study is required from the historical perspective to understand the reason behind the emergence of this image.

An exhaustive account of this charming and fascinating form of Śiva is to be found in the *Vanaparva* section of the Mahābhārata. The account may briefly be stated below:

The descent of the heavenly Ganges to the earth was just to purify the ashes of the sinful sons of Sagara. Bhagiratha, a later member of the same family, performed severe austerities to invoke the celestial river Gaṅgā. The latter was pleased with Bhagiratha but the force of her descent was such that the earth was unable to bear the shock. So

Bhagīratha prayed to Śiva to receive Gaṅgā on his (Śiva's) head. Śiva, satisfied with the austerities of Bhagīratha, consented to receive the Gaṅgā on his matted locks. The river, proud of her might, came down with all her force as if to crush Śiva, but found herself lost in the tangled mass of Śiva's locks before she was able to reach the earth. At the request of Bhagīratha Śiva let her flow down on the earth from his locks in a tiny trickle. The river-goddess, the heavenly Ganges, is believed since then to abide in Śiva's matted hair as one of his consorts.

The story associated with this *Saumya* or *Śānta* aspect is a popular one and is also referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*. *Āgamic* literatures, *e.g.*, the *Aṁśumadhbedāgạma*, the *Kāmikāgama*, the *Kāraṇāgama* and the iconographical texts, *viz*., the *Śilparatna* furnish us with elaborate instructions regarding the composition of Gaṅgādhara from of Śiva. Almost all the *Āgamic* texts have given similar instructions excepting for slight variations in the emblems of the hands. According to the instructions of these texts the image is said to be standing with the right leg planted vertically on the earth and the left leg slightly bent. The front right hand placed near the chin of Umā with the left front arm embracing her, the back right being lifted up as high as the *uṣṇīsa* or the crown of the head and holding a *jaṭā*, on which the figure of Gaṅgā is located, the back left carrying a *mṛga*. On the left of Śiva, Umā should be shown in a state of mental uneasiness (feeling jealous of Gaṅgā). Bhagīratha, in the company of the *ṛṣis*, should also be shown on the left.

The *Kāmikā* and the *Kāraṇāgamas* further elucidate that "the figure of Śiva should have four arms and three eyes; of these, the front right hand should be in the *abhaya* pose and the front left one in the *kaṭaka* pose. The other two hands should be carrying the *paraśu* and the *mṛga*. The hand that touches the *jaṭā*. (this must be the one which keeps the *paraśu*), should be lifted as high as the ear. The height of the figure of Bhagīratha should be that of the navel, the chest or the neck of that of Śiva and it shout be made according to the *aṣṭa-tāla* measurement..."

Archaeological evidences of this form of Śiva are not unwanting, but, curiously enough, they are mainly confined to the trans-Vindhyan region. The sculptural representation of the Śiva-gaṅgādharamūrti that hailed from the rock-cut cave temple at Elephanta is undoubtedly one of the best specimens so far discovered. G.N. Rao described the panel as follows: "In the centre of this fine panel are the figures of Śiva and Umā. The back right hand is holding a *jaṭā* from which a female, whose figure is broken and whose legs alone are visible at present, seems to be descending; near the end of this *jaṭā* is Brahmā seated upon a *padmāsana*. The front right hand of Śiva is kept in the *abhaya* pose. Even though the forearm of the back left arm is broken it is easy to find that it must have been directed towards the chin of Umā; it is not easy to say what there was in the front left hand of Śiva. To the left of the figure of Śiva is seen standing that of Umā, whose left arm is let down hanging, while the right is bent and held up; the forearm of this arm is broken; it is very likely that this hand held in it a flower. Near the shoulder of the goddess Umā is seen Vishṇu seated upon his vehicle, Garuḍa. On the right and near the foot of Śiva is seated Bhagīratha with flowing *jaṭās* and facing the Lord of Śiva. His arms are broken; perhaps they were in the *añjanli* pose. Between Śiva and Umā and to the left of Umā are two

dwarfish *gaṇas* or attendants of Śiva. On the head of Śiva is a triple headed goddess who is in all probability the triple river Gaṇgā after She was joined by the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī branches. On a level with the head of Śiva are sculptured a number of *devas,* all flying in the air, which is shown in the conventional manner of a cumulus cloud."

Another interesting Gaṅgādhara form of Śiva image is found on the west wall of the rock-cut cave at Trichinopoly. It was constructed the order of the Pallava king Mahendravarman in the middle of the seventh century A.D. On the panel Śiva is standing with his left leg placed straight upon the ground and the right one bent and placed upon the *gaṇa* or attendant. Śiva's back right hand is lifted up and bent to take hold of one *jaṭa* issuing from his head; at the end of the *jaṭa* is the river goddess Ganges seated with hands folded on her chest in the *añjali* pose. The front right hand holds a snake while the back left one is meant to keep a *mṛga,* and the remaining hand is resting upon the hip of Śiva. Bhagīratha on the right and another *ṛṣi* on the left are standing with folded-hand.

Mention may be made in this connection to the faithful representation of a *Śiva-gaṅgādhara-mūrti* in a relief from the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple. J.N. Banerjee observes "Śiva releases Gaṅgā pent up in his matted locks by stretching a coil of his *jaṭās* wth his back right hand, while caressing with his front right hand his principal consort Umā (the river goddess Gaṅgā became his other wife), as if to pacify her jealously for her co-wife (the expression and attitude of Umā seem to emphasise this). The artist followed the laws of the iconographic texts in *toto.* Among the sculptures of Mamallapuram as pointed out by A.L. Basham we find the prevalence of this placid aspect of Śiva. The scholar described the relief as follows: "Most striking of these is the relief of the descent of the Gaṅgā...A natural cleft in the rock has been utilized to represent the Sacred River, who is watched on either side by gods, demigods, ascetics and elephants as she descends from the head of Śiva, and who has sinuous snake-spirits (*nāgas*) swimming in her waters. The artists who designed this splendid relief had a sardonic sense of humor, for among the worshipping ascetics they carved the crafty cat, who performed penance in order the lure to mice to their doom.

It is really very surprising that such a type of image has not been found frequently anywhere beyond the region of the South India which we have already mentioned. We have one sculptural representation of the early mediaeval period of Bengal in which we find the representation of the two consorts of Śiva, *viz.,* Pārvatī and Gaṅgā who stand gracefully on their respective mounts (a lion and a *makara*) on the right and left. This shows that the relation of Śiva with Gaṅgā was known to the artist but, no specific Gaṅgādhara iconography had yet been discovered from this particular region.

It is, however, difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say anything about the reason behind the emergence of this form of Śiva. Venkataramanayya has suggested that Śiva's connection with Gaṅgā was partly due perhaps to Iranian influences. In support of his view, the said Indologist advocates—"Likewise Gaṅgā, Anahita was the personification of a heavenly river which had a counterpart on earth, probably the Oxus. Like the earthly Gaṅgā, the earthly *anahita* had her origin in a mountain (*Aburz-bezezaiti*), and emptied its waters into the sea of Vourukassa. The close companionship which

existed between Anahita and Mithra bears also striking resemblance to that of Gaṅgā and Śiva."

But justifiable doubts have been expressed by competent scholars with regard to the genuineness of this view. According to them "the proto-Indian God Śiva was closely associated with the Himalayas. And naturally, the idea of the holiness of Gaṅgā a river situated in that mountain must have given rise to the legend current in Indian tradition. Moreover, the Iranians themselves are so much indebted to India that the source of many of the similarities between the cultural life of the Indians and Iranians may be found on the Indian soil itself.

The arguments adduced above, however are not strong enough to convince anybody of the reason underlying the emergence of this theme. In this connection we should note that the river-goddess had an important position in the of Brāhmaṇical religion. The divine form of rivers is known in the *Vedas* where Sarasvatī is described as a holy river. The Gaṅgā which is also known as Alakanandā, Dyundi, Mandākmi, Bhāgirathi and Jāhnavi etc., is mentioned in the *Ṛg veda* and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. In the epic the rivers are described as mothers (*dhiṣṇyā*) of the sacrificial fire-altars since the colonising process of the motherland was accomplished mostly by the fire-altars advancing along the course of the river. It is, at present, an established fact that the Aryan culture spread over the land of the seven rivers. *viz.*, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, Gaṅgā Narmadā, Godāvari and Kāveri. It is thus natural that the Aryans considered the rivers as their deities; and amongst all the river-goddesses of India Gaṅgā was gven the supreme position. As we have already mentioned the earliest literary works as well as the archaeological remains refer to this popular deity of the Aryans. Śiva, whose earliest reference is to be found in the Indus Seal, on the other hand, belonged to that group which is generally known as Dravidian or rather Non-Aryan. The synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan people resulted in the Hindu civilisation bearing the traces of the rich-pre-Aryan civilisation and culture. The outward expression of the fusion of two different deities belonging to two separate groups is probably an attempt to synthesize the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultures. In this form the river-goddess, Gaṅgā and Śiva were brought into closer contact; the former was not supplanted by the latter, but rather absorbed into it. There is ample reference to the composite icons like, Ardhanārīśvara, Umā-Maheśvara, Kalyāṇasundara, Gaṅgādhara, but no evidence is available regarding the existence of any particular sect. The joint-cult may have played some part in the life of the people, but the existence of a sect is an entirely different thing.

7
ARUḶNANDI

For the first time the Śaiva Siddhānta school could get a formal, systematised exposition of its tenets complete in all respects like Brahmasūtras in Śivañāna Bōdam. In keeping with the literary tradition of compressing doctrines and discussions into cryptic aphorisms, Meykaṇḍār gave Śivañāna Bōdam in the form of Sūtras, which presuppose long discussions. It was given only to Aruḷnandi Śivācārya to inaugurate the practice of writing Śāstra in 'viruttam' (Skt. vrtta) 'The employment of this form has rendered his work remarkably self explanatory and at the same time brought out the depth and intensity of his utterances.' So it can be said that Aruḷnandi developed fully and amply his master's treatise on Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy.

The tradition says Aruḷnandi Śivācāryar was the family preceptor of Meykaṇḍār and narrated the following incident. When Meykaṇḍār failed to visit his family preceptor to pay his respects, Aruḷnandi, who was perhaps known as Tirutturaiyūr Sasdāśiva Śivācāryar, and 'Sakalāgama Paṇḍita' on the basis of his encyclopaedic knowledge of the Vedas, Āgamas and the twelve Tirumuṛais, went to his disciple's residence. There Meykaṇḍār was explaining *āṇavamala* to his followers. Sakalāgama Paṇḍita with his superior airs asked the child exponent to define malam. The young master indicated with his forefinger the 'Sakalāgama Paṇḍita' himself. This proved tto be an initiation and the family preceptor became a disciple of Meykaṇḍar. He was given the name (dīkṣānāmam) of Aruḷnandi Śivācāryar...Even though there is no historical evidence in support of this story it is quite conceivable that a great and erudite scholar well-versed in the lore of Śaivāgamas had to await a conversion even to understand the Āgamas in their depth. The two treatises from his pen bear ample evidence of his range as well as depth of the understanding of the Śaiva Siddhānta (Śaivāgamas). As a result he could explain the position of Śaiva Siddhānta *vis-a-vis* both systems, those in consonance with the spirit and substance of the Veda and those at variance with it.

The Śivañāna Siddiyār is divided into two parts, *viz.*, Parapakkam (Skt. Parapakṣam) and Supakkam (Skt. Svapakṣam). The first part deals with the tenets of the alien schools, first expounding them and refuting them. The schools thus dealt are: Materialism (Lokāyata), the four sects of Buddhism, *viz.*, Sautrāntia, Yogācāra,

Mādhyamika and Vaibhāṣika, the sects of Jainism *i.e.*, the Nikhaṇḍa Vāda and the Ājivaka, the two sections of the Mīmāmsa system, *viz.*, the Bhatta and Prābhākara, the three types of Ekātmavāda, *viz.*, Sabdabrahmavāda, Māyāvāda and Bhāskaryavāda, the Śāṅkhya, and lastly the Pāñcarātra of the Vaiṣṇavas.

From the list one may see that the ground covered includes the three groups of 'nāstika' darśanas, *viz.*, Lokāyata, Bauddha and the Jaina, the sāṅkhya, the pūrva and uttara mīmāmsa, the Sabda Brahman vāda of the Vākhyapardiya school and the Pāñcarāta. There are interesting omissions and commisions in the list. Alongwith the Jaina is expounded the doctrine of the Ājīvaka, followed by a refutation. Under Sāṅikhya is treated only the atheist variety (nirisvara), the theistic emendation of which, also called the yoga, being not mentioned. Likewise another significant omission is the group of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. The two sub-schools of Pūrva mīmāmsa are dealt with, but of the Uttara mīmāmsa, only two schools of interpretation are considered, *viz.*, Śaṅkara's Māyāvāda and Bhāskara's Bhedā Bheda. Interesting is the inclusion of Śivādvaita school here, included, perhaps, because of its affinities with the absolutism of the Uttara mīmāmsa.

Arulṇandi seems to have grouped together philosophico-religious systems in the order of their distance from the spirit of the theism of Śaiva Siddhānta, the 'non-theistic' systems which deny the central principle of theism, *viz.*, God understood in any sense, are treated first. The 'non-theistic' alternatives of matter (Lokāyata), law (Bauddha), Karma (Jaina) and Destiny (Ājīvaka) are examined and criticised as imperfect approximations to the 'God' of 'Śaiva Siddhānta. The orthodox variety of non-theism, *viz.*, the Pūrva mīmāmsa, which is closer in spirit to the heterodox systems, is next considered. The main point at issue here is the concept of scriptural Revelation, acceptance of which allegedly distinguishes the orthodox from the 'heterodox'. Aside from its being unintelligible that scripture is uncomposed by any agency, does the scripture itself anywhere say that it is 'uncreated' (swayambhu) ? Revelation without a revealer is a contradiction.

While the three groups of heterodox schools do not accept Revelation at all, the 'orthodox' groups accept the norm of Vedic Revelation but do not understand it theistically as the revelation of an eternal Revealer. A theistic understanding of scriptural Revelation provides for possibility of according the status of revelation of scriptures other than the Vedas also on par with the Vedas. This naturally brings the Śaiva Siddhānta into confrontation with the Vaiṣṇava school. The latter accept the Vedas like any orthodox school but in addition acknowledge the authority of the Pāñcarātra. So Arulṇandi completes his Refutation of rival systems, by examining in detail the school of Pāñcarātra.

We get a bird's eye view of these fourteen systems and the Siddhāntin's refutation of the same. Maṛaiñāna sambandar, one of the commentators on the Siddiyār Supakkam, says that Arulṇandi based his Parapakkam on the followng works: (1) Śaṅkarācārya's Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha (2) Sarvamatopanyāsa, (3) Rāmmanāthācārya's Paramata Nirākaraṇa, (4) Śarvātma Śambhu's Siddhānta dīpikā and (5) Aghora Śivācārya's Siddhāntārtha samuccaya.

These fourteen systems belong to the alien (outer group) schools. Closely

following this tradition of expounding the tenets of other systems and refuting them set up by Aruḷnandi, Umāpati deals with the inner schools in the same way in his Saṅkalpa Nirākaraṇam.

Aruḷnandi in his Śivañāna Siddiyār presented the tenets of the Śaiva Siddhānta system, and side by side commented upon and criticised other systems. Instead of doing it in the whole of his work he divided the work into parts, the first part dealing with the criticism of other system and the second part expounding the Śaiva Siddhānta system besides meeting out the points which were raised in the first part, the points which other systems lacked.

The Supakkam, the equal to Parapakkam, is almost an independent treatise, mainly expository but not without refutation of rival points of view.'Avowedly the treatment follows the lines of Śivañāna bōdam, Aruḷnandi himself saying that he expounds the doctrinal essence of Śaiva Siddhānta 'keeping duly in mind the work of Meykaṇḍār.' Though it reads like a commentary in verse on Śivañāna Bōdam, and tradition acclaims it as a Derived work (vaḷinūl) Śivañāna Siddiyār exhibits great originality and synthesis. That it is designed in an original way intentionally by the author is evident from his account of epistemology with which he prefaces his work. His section on Pramāṇa is methodologically a novelty and exhibits Aruḷnandi's attempt to present Śaiva Siddhānta as a logically coherent system of thought.

As for the title Śivañāna Siddiyār, the first part was taken from the original work Śivañāna Bōdam. Śivañāna in its wider sense is at once the knowledge of the means and the knowledge of the end, the preliminary knowledge (aparajñāna) and the final release (parajñāna). Here it stands for the knowledge of the means of the scriptural wisdom which culminates in ultimate realisation. -Siddi' (Skt. Siddhi) is the establishment of the true meaning thereof. So the title would mean that 'the work is an assessment or determination of the true import of the varied contents of the knowledge-section (jñānapāda) of the Śaivāgamas.'

The special features of this work are: (1) the epistemology, the *pramāṇas* explained. (2) the greatness of Śiva is established. Śiva is the ultimate goal of the six religions; He is the ultimate reality of each religion; He is beyond the reach of the Vedas and Āgamas; He is the source of knowledge and all pervasive in the form of Father and Mother. He is not to be nown by the Vedas, Brahma and Viṣṇu, the intellect and word. One may worship any god and Śiva will appear to him in that form; for the other gods are born and dead; only He is free from all these. All His qualities and acts, the mythological ones too, are explained. (3) the supremacy of Śaiva faith over others is fully illustrated. "Following the paths of the outer schools, entering the folds of the inner sects, labouring under the dictates of smrtis, reaching the disciplinary stages of Asrama, performing great austerities, mastering different arts and sciences, studying the Vedas, reading the reputed Puraṇas, achieving clarity with respect to the ultimate import of the Upaniṣads,—if one passes through these graded steps (in the different births) he will reach (the heights of) Siddhānta (which is the accomplished end of all Śaivism). And here after undergoing the Sādhanas of Caryā, Kriya and Yoga through the (resultant) knowledge he realises the Feet of Śiva." The release explained by other religions are like the rungs of a ladder. Only Śaiva Siddhānta speaks of the true Release, *i.e.*, reaching the Feet of Śiva.

The Religions, Truth and Books are many and conflicting; which is the real Religion, the real Truth and the real Book ? that which knows no such conflicts as 'this is and not that', but can resolve them all under one supreme intuition and have (in its scheme of synthesis) each of them given a well-defined place that is the Religion, the Truth and the Book. Therefore the different truths and doctrines envisaged by finite minds and embodied in different Religious formulations and Books are comprised as parts within what are the Revelations of the Omniscient Infinte Being *viz.*, the Vedas and Āgamas. These two again resolve under the Divine Feet of (their source, *viz.*,) the Lord.' And they speak of Śaivism. Only Siddhānta (the Śaivaite religion) mentions four paths, *viz.*, Sanmārga, Dāsamārga, Satputramārga and Sahamārga.

The greatness of Siddiyār was acknowledged by the scholars of those days and it was given the honorofic suffix of 'ār; and was called the Śivañāna Siddiyār. A religious pontiff and the founder of the Dharmapuram math, Guruñāna Sambanda Swāmikaḷ, says in one of his works: "It is enough to understand one half of a verse in Siddiyār if one wants to learn all the works in the world.' St. Tāyumānavar says: 'Oh, for the day when I can worship the golden feet of one who declared the Truth in half a stanza, enough for one to feel disillusioned about the world.' And the Siddiyār is considered to be one of the six works which bring out the greatness and essence of the Tamil language.

Śivañāna Siddiyār is a literary work as much as a philosophical treatise. Aruḷnandi is both a poet and a philosopher. This work will be remembered as the most exhaustive treatise in verse on philosophy in the Tamil language. The author has a mastery over the language and the work abounds with analogies.

The Supakkam has been commented upon by the following: (1) Swāmi Ñānappirakāsar, (2) Veḷḷi Ambalattambirān Swāmi, (3) Nirambavaḷakiyār, (4) Maṛañāna Dēśikar, (5) Śivāgra Yogin, (6) Śivañāna Swāmikaḷ and (7) Subramaṇia Dēśikar. (This is of the nature of a sub-commentary on the one by Śivañāna Swāmikal). Recently two commentaries, one by T. Muthiah Pilai (This being an elaboration of Śivañāna Swāmikaḷ's commentary) and the other by M. Tiruviḷaṅgam, have appeared. To these modern commentaries may be added the following: (1) Śaiva Siddhānta by Dr. V.A. Devasenapati (196). Tattuvaprakāśar commented on Parapakkam.

Aruḷnandi Śivācāryar has contributed yet another work to the Siddhānta Śāstras. It goes by the name 'Irupā Irupahdu.' This work has twenty poems in two different metres, the poems carrying odd number are in the Veṇbā meter and the even ones in the Āśiriyappā meter. The last word or syllable of the previous poems forms the first word or the syllable of the next verse. In this work the Guru, Meykaṇḍa Dēvar, is treated as Śiva, and questions in verse are put to him.

The Irupāirupahdu explains the eight characteristics of the Āṇava mala, seven of Māyā and six of the Karma. Certain phrases occurring in Tēvāram hymns are explained beautifully well in this work. The same passage poses questions like the following: If the Lord is inseparably with the self how did the Ignorance take place ? Does it not mean that Lord was not there with the soul when it was one with Āṇava ? At the time of spiritual instruction where and how is the Lord, different from or one with the self ?

The functions of the three bonds, *viz.*, Āṇava, Karma and Māyā are given in detail. Separation (individualisation, longing, anger on account of failure to get what was longed for, egoity, experiencing pain and pleasure etc., are the results of the Āṇava. Confusion, falsehood, forgetfulness, harming others, jealousy, fear etc. are due to Māyā. Sitting, lying, doing, leaving, decrying others and involvement etc., are on account of the Karma. These are jaḍa (insentient). How do they bind they soul ? If they act like the poison, they must leave the body the moment their job is done. If mala is insentient it cannot bind the soul, of its own accord. And the soul would not get itself bound by it. As the Lord is essentially free from bonds He would not bind the soul with mala. If mala is intrinsic to the soul then it cannot be removed. So how did this bondage take place ?

How do the five states (avasthas) occur ? The Ignorance is removed when the knowledge dawns. Then the self cannot see itself as it has lost its individuality. As it is not separate from the Lord it cannot see the Lord also. And without losing the identity the self and the soul cannot be known one and the same time. If so, how could the self know itself?

The Lord is one with those who are separate from the world *i.e.*, who have renounced the worldly things, and He is away from them, who are one with the world. He, of His own accord, Gracefully came and mingled with the self and remained inseparably (but not one), indivisibly (not two) and not nothing (neither one nor two) and without losing His Greatness made the self great and bestowed eternal Bliss on it.

In short the Irupā irupahdu deals with all the basic problems of philosophy such as pati, paśu and pāśa and their relationship, nature, transmigration etc.

8
ARUVAGAI SAMAYAM

Appar refers to *Aruvagai Samayam*, the six *Samayas*. In the history of Indian thought numerals have played an important role. Faiths, concepts, or acts of identical nature are grouped under or other number (like *caturmūrti, caturbāhus caturvyūhas* and *caturgati* etc., among which *Shanmatam* is one. The term *Shanmatam* is now used in the sense of six religious systems namely *Śaivam, Vaishṇavam, Śāktam, Kaumāram, Gānapatyam* and *Sauram*. A study in chronological perspective of this term *Shanmatam* would indicate the evolution of religious beliefs, the weakening hold of the original faiths and the shifting emphasis during the centuries.

In the Vedic times we have such groupings as *shaḍṛitus, Shanmāsas, Shaḍkalpas, Shaḍangas*, and *Shaḍkarmans* etc. based on the number six. So far as important observances and branches of knowledge are concerned the six auxiliary systems called *Shadangas—Sīksha Chandas, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Jyōtisha* and *Kalpa*—developed as independent sciences, mutually complimentary and as essentials for Vedic sacrifices. The *Shaḍangas*, however, played only a secondary role to the *Vedas*. The second stage in the development is witnessed in what came to be called *Shad darsanas*—the six systems of philosophy—*Nyāya, Vaisēshika, Sānkhya, Yoga, Mimāmsa*, and *Vēdānta* (the last two were also known as *Veda vāda* and *Brahma vāda*) and this should have come into being in the pre-Buddhist Sutra period. When Buddha, Mahāvira and Carūvāka were able to capture the imagination of the populace, *Buddhism, Ārhatam* and *Lōkāyatam* were included among the *Shad darsanas*, alongwith *Mīmāmsa, Sānkhya* and *Naiyāyika* to constitute the six. In this '*Mīmāmsa*' included *Pūrva* and *Uttara mīmāmsa; Sānkhya* included *Yoga*; and *Nyāya*, Viseshika.

There seems to have been no uniform groupings under the term *shanmatam*, the word being used loosely in various texts, for example the Tamil text *Manimehalai* mentions *Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Sānkhya, Naiyāyika, Vaisēshika* and *Mīmamsa*. It thus omits the important system of Jainism (*Ārhatam*). The Tamil text *Divākaram* omits *Sānkhya* and *Yoga* and includes *Lōkyatas*. Variations are noticed even within one and the same text.

Further later, when subsects got established within one system, especially in Śaivism, a new grouping came into existence as '*ābhyantara*' and the '*Bāhya*' *shan matas*—

the internal and the external sects. Thus *Śaivam, Pāsupatam, Mahāvratam, Bhairavam, Vāmam* and *Kālāmukam* were considered the six internal subsects—*ahaccamayam āṛu*—while *Lōkāyatam, Bauddham, Samanam, Mīmāmsam, Pāncharātram* and *Bhāṭṭāchāryam* were considered external to the followers of Śaivam. This grouping is found mentioned in the *Tevāram* hymns of Śaivite hymns 600 A.D. The present popular connotation of *Shanmatam* standing for *Śaivam, Vaishnavam, Sākatam, Kaumāram, Gānāpatyam* and *Sauram* is mentioned in 17th Century text and should be dated earlier than that age.

The Advaita exponent Ādi Saṅkarachārya is said to have established the six systems and is given the title *Shanmatah Sthāpānāchārya*. Among the *ashtoṭtara sata nāmāvali* (the 108 names of worship to Sankara) one reads '*Shanmatha Sthāpanāchāryāya namah*' which according to the prevalent faiths relate to the six systems of religion mentioned above. Among the available work on the life of Sankara the "*Mādhavīya Sankara Vijaya*" attributed to Vidyāranya commands respect among all. Sankara according to this text vanquished the followers of opposing faiths like *Baudhha, Kānāda, Gautama, Kāpila, Pātanjala, Lōkayatas, Mandanas, Bhāskaras* and *Maskarins* (*Ājivikas*). This would show that the *shaddarsana* were considered as opposing faiths. Another verse is also of interest in this connection. It states that Sankara undertook a victorious expedition to several places to protect and establish the *Vaidika Mārga* from the mischivous Sāktas. Vaishṇavas, Pāsupatas, Kāpālikas and Kshapaṇakas (Buddhists or Jains).

This apparently conflicts with the popular notion that Sankara established the six systems *shaṇ maṭaha sthāpanāchārya*. Tradition also identifies Sankara as an adherent of Śaiva system and also by birth a Sākta. In the beginning the '*Sankara Vijaya*' text states that Śiva manifested as Sankara followed by other gods to establish the *Vaidika* system in the world. Among the *Tīrtha yātras*—pilgrimages—undertaken by Sankara a number of temples visited by him and where he performed *pūjas* are mentioned. There are some modern scholars who believe that Sankara had a leaning towards *Vaishnavism* than other systems. Thus we are obliged to interpret Sankara's antagonism to other religious systems like Śaivism, Vaishnavism Sāktam etc. as directed towards the *avaidika* non-vedic schools of these sects. By the 14th Century we do have in each and every sect the *Vaidika* and *Avaidika* schools.

Thus beginning from *Shadangas,* emphasis has been shifted to *Shad darsanas,* then to *shad samayas,* and now to *Shan matas* based in the sanctity attached to the numeral six *Shad* the change taking shape gradually through the centuries.

Each system of *Shanmatha* requires independent and exhaustive study. There are many things common to all these faiths like the intense faith and devotion towards a personalised God who bestows all that the devotees want. The followers of these sects hold their respective deity as the primordial God creator, sustainer and dissolver of the universe, easily accessible to all and fulfilling the wishes of the people. There are some other attributes common to all of them. However, it is only the difference in their imagery and the mode of worship distinct to each deity that attracts attention. Each system could be studied under three different sub heads viz., Vedic, post Vedic and the present state or what we may call origin, development and the present state of these sects. According

to some scholars three of these deities, Śiva, Durga and Subrahmanya are pre-Vedic or non-Vedic deities assimilated into Vedic fold later; Viṣṇu and Sūrya are Vedic gods and Gaṇapati a post-vedic imagery. Even Vishṇu is now considered non-Vedic by some scholars which leaves only the Saura cult originating from Vedas !

In this connection it is pertinent to point out that the *Vedas* give us a clear picture of the Gods they visualised and adored. When pre-Vedic concepts of these systems are traced, it leads us to the realm of pure speculation. The post-Vedic developments are well documented and many eminent scholars like R.G. Bandarkar, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, J.N. Banerjee, V.S. Agrawala, and C. Sivaramamurthi have dealt with them with authority and competence. The contemporary situation which exhibits tremendous change also deserve due and scientific attention.

9
Ascetics of Siva

Asceticism was early associated with Śaivism. Śiva has been described not only as a Mahāyogi as Krishna is called Yogiśvara but also as a grat ascetic. Though he has a consort, his wife Pārvati or Umā, though he has a son or two attributed to him in mythology, yet he is described as a Tyāgi par excellence, as one without possessions, as one having matted hair, with his body besmeared with ashes and as one very fond of visiting or even living on cremation-grounds. The earliest known ascetics — and we must bear in mind the distinction between a hermit or an anchorite on the one hand and an ascetic or a mendicant monk on the other — appear to have been all Śaivites. Vaishnava ascetics begin to figure only after Rāmānuja, who lived in the 11th century, A.D.

Samnyāsis are sometimes known as Gosāis. The word Gosāi, really speaking, has no opprobrious implication, meaning as it does, one who has control over his senses. But in popular parlance, more often than not, it is used in a derogatory sense, and has come to be commonly applied to Jogis or Nāthapanthi Sādhus, and only to one or two orders of Samnyāsis, which recruit non-Brahmins.

Samnyāsis are generally classified as (1) Dasanāmis; (2) Daṇḍis; (2) Paramahamsa; and (4) Brahmcāris. But this classification is based on confusion of ideas. It is clear from the accounts of Samnyāsis collected by us that there is only one school of Samnyāsis, which has ten orders. And that is known as Dasanāmis.

Daṇḍi means one who has a staff (daṇḍa). According to the Dharmaśāstras even an initiated student, a Brahmacāri, had to carry a staff (daṇḍaa), which he discarded on his leaving the house of his teacher. But a Brahmacāri, is not described in the Dharma literature as a Daṇḍin. On the other hand, in describing a person who has entered the fourth stage of life, the Samnyāsāśrama, Manu not only speaks of him as Yati, but also calls him a Daṇḍi, one with a staff, just as he calls him a Pātrī, one with a begging bowl. The staff as a characteristic of an ascetic is definitely very much older than Manusmṛti. Patanjali has remarked in one place as follows: "Just as one on seeing smok issuing from a particular place infers that there is fire in that place, similarly one seeing a staff (triviṣṭabdhaka) infers an ascetics (Parivrājaka)". In Patanjali's time a staff was a sufficient characteristic of an ascetic. This statement of Patanjali's is very valuable, for a staff being considered as a specific index of an ascetic, because is another place he takes

care to warm against using the characteristic of a staff for explaining the work 'maskarin' to mean an ascetic, though 'maskara' means bamboo.

In this connection it is necessary to refer to the word 'Tridaṇḍi' which literally means one with three staves. It is a term which is generally applied to Vaishnava ascetics. In distinction to a 'Tridaṇḍi' ascetic, a 'Daṇḍi' is very often referred to as 'Ekaḍaṇḍi', 'one having only one staff'. Not only some Śaiva Samnyāsis, who can claim to be Daṇḍis by their characteristics, but also ascetics of the Vaishnava sect of Madhva are thus designated. Farquhar informs us that both these expressions, 'Ekadaṇḍi' and 'Tridaṇḍi' occur in the Mahābhārata. We hav not been able to trace the former of these. The latter expression namely 'Tridaṇḍi' occurs in connection with Arjuna's abduction of Subhadrā, but only in the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata and in the Bhāgavata. Arjuna is represented as having adopted the 'tridaṇḍi' variety of renunciation and settled down near Dwarka, the home of Subhadrā. This is undoubtedly the first imposter ascetic known to Hindu society. The 'tridaṇḍi' variety of asceticism was the only respectable form that could have enabled Arjuna to impose upon Subhadrā's elder brother and by gaining access to the palace to achieve his purpose of abducting Subhadrā. It is clear from the episode that the particular form of asceticism had reference to rules of observance, one of them being perfect silence.

Manu has stated that a 'tridaṇḍi' is one who has controlled his body, speech and mind with the help of intellect. It thus appears that the 'daṇḍa' connoted by that word in the expressions 'Daṇḍin', 'Ekadaṇḍin' and 'Tridaṇḍin' was a particular rule of conduct and observance rather than a material staff. Hence 'Daṇḍins' are samnyāsis who observe a particular rule of going through a particular discipline or those who have arrived at a particulary stage of ascetic development. And aṣ such any Samnyāsi belonging to any one of the ten orders of the Dasasnāms can be designated a 'Daṇḍi', provided he fulfils the conditions. 'Daṇḍis' are thus not a separate order or class of Samnyāsis. In actual practice it would appear that it is only the Brāhmin ascetics, who belong to one of the four orders of the Dasanāmis, namely Āśrama, Bhārati, Sarasvati and Tīrtha, that are thus designated, and required to carry a staff or 'daṇḍa' to symbolise their status.

Paramahamsas are not a separate class of Samnyāsis. As a matter of fact, as Oman observes, ascetics, whether Śaiva, or Vaishnava, who have undergone a probation of at least twelve years, can become Paramahamsas. According to one account which have been able to collect, Paramahamsas are ascetics, belonging to any one of the ten orders of the Dasanāmis, who are usually progressive and who consider themselves as above a number of rules of observance and behave so. For example, they not only are prepared to act as teachers and leaders of the Nāgā or the naked sub-section of the Dasanāmis but also dine in the same row with them. The Daṇḍis refuse to do these things. Paramahamsa ascetics are generally preachers and teachers; and quite a number of them wander about in the company of their students and disciples. The status of asceticism connoted by the term Paramahamsa is the highest and the most coveted of all. A Paramahamsa is believed to have attained such a stage of self-knowledge that routine distinctions and observances of the mundane world are not binding on him. He is believed

to be so perfect in self-control that nothing can disturb him. He is so pure that nothing can contaminate him. Even the doctrinal differences between Śaivism, and Vaishnavism stand dissolved in him. Paramahamsas are generally great scholars well-versed in Sanskrit learning.

In recent and contemporary asceticism, Paramahamsa is the only category that has kept its continuity intact from the time of the *Jābālopaniṣad* onwards. As already mentioned, the earliest reference to varieties of ascetics other than Paramahamsa is found in the *Mahābhārata*. And out of the four varieties mentioned there, Paramahamsa is the last. The other three varieties have been conspicuous by their absence even from the time of the great Śankarācārya. The variety of Paramahamsa ascetic is one of the three varieties mentioned in the *Jābālopaniṣad*. The other two varieties named in the *Jābālipaniṣad* are different from those mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Bhikṣuka-upaniṣad* on the other hand, mentions the same four varieties of ascetics as the *Mahābhārata*. So does also the *Āśramopaniṣad* and the *Hārītasmṛti*. The *Nāradaparivrājakopaniṣad* mentions among its six kinds of ascetics Hamsa and Paramahamsa, which are the third and the fourth varieities of the *Mahābhārata* list.

The term Paramahamsa is rather intriguing in its signification. Particularly is this so because in a number of lists it is preceded by the term Hamsa. There can hardly be any doubt that Paramahamsa is a term compounded of the two terms 'parama' and 'Hamsa'. Hamsa is thus the basic term. The pair of terms Hamsa and Paramahamsa raises to one's consciousness the pair of terms 'ātman' and 'paramātman' so famous in Hindu philosophy. In the whole Hindu ideology 'hamsa' stands for purity. It is par excellence the discriminator. Might it have stood for that state of self-realisation where the individual by his ascetic practices has attained to that stage of discrimination where he can distinguish the spiritual essence of his soul from its material trapping? If so, then Paramahamsa would naturally mean an ascetic or a person who having realised the identity of the individual soul with the supreme soul could be called the supreme discriminator. In one verse of the *Ṛgveda*, which also occurs in the *Kāṭhakopanisad*, there occurs the expression '*hamsah śuciṣad*, which, though not very clear, may be taken to imply from the context that, whatever hamsa may mean, it has reference both to stability and purity.

In the *Jābāla* and *Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣads* occurs lists of Paramahamsas. In one list there are nine names and in the other eight the names common to the two lists are Saṁvartaka, Aruṇi, Śvetaketu, Jaḍabharata and Dattātreya. It is very interesting to note that there is an Upaniṣad called *Dattātreyopaniṣad*. In it an attempt is made to give the etymology of the word Dattātreya. The 'da' of Dattātreya is equated with 'hamsa'. In fact, the tutelary deity of the Junā or Bhairava Ākhāḍā of the Nāgās is Dattātreya, who is worshipped in all its centres. The centre of this Ākhāḍā at Ujjain is named after that deity. According to Wilson, the different orders of Samnyāsis hold in high veneration Dattātreya besides Śankara, the organszer of the orders. Though Dr. Chapekar's investigation did not reveal this fact as such, yet the usual saying among ascetics that 'renunciation began with Datta' (Dattase Samnyāsa calā) corroborates the general import. This opinion about Dattātreya's

connection with asceticism is also vouchsafed in a Sanskritic source called *Śiva-śatarudrasaṁhitā*.

Dattātreya figures in the Puraṇas as one of the incarnations of Vishnu. In the *Bhāgavata* and the *Mahābhārata* he appears as the sixth incarnation, while in the *Brahmāṇa* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas,* he takes the fourth rank. In the *Śisupālavadha* of Māgha, Dattātreya is referred to as the fourth or the fifth incarnation of Vishnu. In the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* on the other hand, Śri Harṣa represents him as the tenth incarnation. In the *Upaniṣad* of his name, he is described as the son of Atri and Anusūyā and called both a 'mahāyogin' and an 'avadhūta'. It is interesting to note that he is considered to constitute 'cit', consciousness, 'ānanda', bliss, and 'sat', truth. His description as one wearing an attire like that of a child, of a madman and of a ghost is in consonance with Paramahamsahood as described in the late Upaniṣads and foreshadows his connection with 'Yogis' in a rather unenviable aspect.

Leaving these traditional and semi-mythical names of Paramahamsas as shadowy, we may mention that the poet Bhavabhūti's teacher named Jñānanidhi is the first of the historcally known Paramahamsas. According to Ānandagiri's account the great Śankarācārya was straightway ordained as a Paramahamsa. The latest and the greatest of the past Paramahamsas, is of course Śri Rāmakrishna, the spiritual preceptor of Swāmi Vivekānanda. Among the living Paramahamsas may be mentioned Swāmi Śivananda of Hrishikesh, Swāmi Maheśvarānanda and Swāmi Bhagavatānanda of Hardwar, Swāmi Vidyānanda of Ahmedabad and Swāmi Gangeśvarānanda of Vrindavan. It must be observed that none of these is a properly accredited Vaishnavite. We have come across a sub-order of ascetics which styles itself Kabir Paramahamsa but we have not included the ascetics of that order in our description of the Paramahamsas as Vaishnavite Paramahamsas because, though they acknowledge their connection with Kabīr, their tenets and practices show hardly any trace of Vaishnavism. There are very few Vaishnava Sadhus who are styled Paramahamsas.

The Hamsa ascetics were enjoined not to reside for more than one night in a village, or for more than five nights in a town or for more than seven nights in a field. They had to eat cowdung and drink cow-urine and had to follow the Cāndrāyaṇa vow in respect of their meal, decreasing its quantity with the waning of the moon. The *Jābālopaniṣad* describes the Paramahamsas as being without any indicative signs (avyaktaliṅga), without any settled mode of life (avyaktācāra) and as behaving like madmen, though not insane. They should have thrown their three staves, their water-bowl, their net-work bag, their water-strainer, their hair-tuft and their sacred thread into water, offering them as oblations to it. In this state the ascetic returns to his form at birth, free from ties, namely of the pairs of opposites, like pleasure and pain, devoid of all possessions, very well started on the path of self-realisation and consequently pure in mind. Only for the keeping of body and soul together this free individual, endowed with complete equanimity towards gain and loss, should beg for alms with his stomach as his alms-bowl.

It is noteworthy that in this Upaniṣad passage the Paramahamsa is described as 'udarapātra', 'udara' meaning stomach. It is very difficult to understand how one can use

one's stomach as a bowl to contain the beggings. The expression, therefore, must be taken to enjoin that a Paramahamsa should accept as much beggins as will fill his stomach and no more. He has to ensure that he has not accepted anything more than just the quantity required to fill his stomach. This he can do in the first instance by not using any bowl as a receptacle for his alms. Further, he can fill his belly by accepting the alms in the hollowed palms of his hand. A Paramahamsa thus has to be in reality a 'karapātri', one using his hand as his bowl, and only metaphorically an 'udarapātri', one using his stomach as his bowl. In *Nāradaparivrājakopaniṣad* he is described as one who has no other alms-bowl except his own hands.

It speaks volumes for the continuity of tradition that there is at present one Paramahamsa ascetic who is usually addressed and referred to as Karapātri Mahārāj, without any other appellation prefixed or suffixed. Originally he was a 'Daṇḍi' and gave up his 'daṇḍa', when he thought he had attained sufficient self-realization to justify him to behave in the free manner of a Paramahamsa. He organized the Rāmarājya pariṣad. This political organisation is typical of resurgent orthodox Hinduism. It put up its own candidates for a number of seats at the last general election. Karapātri Mahārāj, even though he was a leader, soon found that his renunciation of the staff and his adoption of the Paramahamsa appellation led to a serious diminution of his influence among his former associates, the orthodox Daṇḍi ascetics. The Daṇḍi ascetics came to look upon him more as an apostate than as a reformer.

A Paramahamsa has to reside in vacant houses or temples, in thickets of grass, under the shelter of ant-hills, at the root of trees, in a pot-factory, in the hall of sacrificial, fire, on the banks of a river, in mountain caves, in the hollow of a tree or in a deserted plain. Even at the spots enumerated, he should not have a permanent abode. He should not strive for anything. He should have no attachments. He should meditate on the pure Spirit and being intent on uprooting all evil actions should be standing firm in the Self. One who leaves his body in this state of renunciation is a Paramahamsa indeed.

Farquhar has stated that there have always been a few Samnyāsis who have lived stark naked and spent much of their time in lonely forest and that they have been known as Digambaras after the style of their Jain name-sakes. He further observed in A.D. 1925 that there were still living a few Digambaras in the monastery at Śṛṅgeri. We have not been able to verify these statements; and Dr. Chapekar's visit to a large number of monasteries and places of pilgrimage did not reveal a single Digambara ascetic. Nor did Dr. Chapekar gather, from his conversations with numerous ascetics and leaders of monasteries, the impression that there are such. Farquhar has instanced Bhāskarānanda Sarasvatī who left his material body at Banaras in 1899. J.C.O man who visited Bhāskarānanda Sarasvati at Banaras in A.D. 1895 saw him naked, and states that when he called on the ascetic, the latter wrapped a lion-cloth and thereafter stepped forward to receive him. Jadunath Sarkar has published in his *Nāgā-Samnyāsiyokā Itihāsa* a photo of an 'ākhāḍā' in whch there is a whole row of stark naked ascetics.

In one of the Upaniṣad passages referred to above, Dattātreya who figures as a Paramahamsa in two Upaniṣadic lists of Paramahamsas is described as an Avadhūta.

Dr. Chapekar discovered at Hrishikesh, one of the most celebrated centres of Hindu orthodoxy and religious tradition, and an important centre of monasttic orders, that the term 'avadhūta', 'one who has dispelled all imperfection', is applied to a Paramahamsa ascetic. On further inquiry he found that it was rather lossely used for any ascetic who was believed to be or who has a right to be above all rules of observance. It is more appropriately confined to designate those of the Dasanāmi Nāgās who are entitled to it by their seniority. They may be stark naked or may use a small strip of cloth to cover their privities. But they wear matted hari and are not shaved. They may wear a necklace of Rudrāksha beeads or one even of bones. Their indifference to rules of observance may carry them to the extreme of taking intoxicating drink and eating meat. Though in the *Nāradaparivrājakopaniṣad*, where this category of ascetics occurs as one of the two categories additional to the standard four of the *Mahābhārata*, an 'avadhūta' is described as one having no restrictions and as eating his meals like a big python from all except the out-castes, the implication clearly is that meat and drink were two of the restrictions. Perhaps it is the influence of the life of other orders, particularly the Jogis, that is responsible for the use of meat and drink by some of the Samnyāsi ascetics. Even among the Avadhūtas, there are further distinctions as Brahma Avadhūta, Śiva Avadhūta, Bhakta Avadhūta, and Hamsa Avadhūta. Swami Ramananda Samnyāsi has recorded that there are female ascetics of this practice of asceticism on the Tantras, which they consider as the fifth Veda, supports our contention mentioned above. Kānphāṭā Jogis among Śaiva ascetics and Rāmānandis among Vaishnava frequently employ the term 'avadhūta' for their ascetics.

Wilson has noted the existence of Sanjogi 'atita's with an ascetic as well as a householder section. He further states that Nāgās section of the Śaiva ascetics is formed chiefly of the refuse of the Daṇḍi and Atita classes who have no inclination for a life of study. Crooke includes them under Sanjogi and gives their as recorded in the Census of what is today the Uttar Pradesh. Under a special article on Atits he says that Samnyāsi Atits are contrasted with 'gharbāri' or householder Atits and though the latter are described as Śaiva Hindus they are saluted by other people with the invocation 'Namo Nārāyaṇāya', bow to Nārāyaṇa. The *Nārada-parivrājakopaṇiṣad* lists 'Turiyātīta as the fifth class of ascetics above that of the Paramahamsas. It describes a 'Turiyāta' (Turiyaiātita) as one who eats with his mouth without using his hands and that, too, fruits. He is described, therefore, as far as his food habits are concerned, as a cow-mouthed one. If he wants to eat corn he may beg it only from three houses. He must have no belongings except his body and is consequently naked. He regards his body as a corpse. It is clear from this description that Atits are not like Avadhūtas, who are described as boas, enjoined to lie at one place and eat whatever is received.

The description of an Atita hermit given by Col. Tod at about the beginning of the second quarter of the last century gainst in interest. He speaks of several caves or 'guphās' near Mandor as being the abode of Atita hermits. He thus speaks of his discovery of the Atita: "Having walked out on the terrace or house-top of the palace, to catch a sun-beam and scare away an ague which tormented me, I discovered one of these animals coiled

up on a heap of bats' dung in a corner of an apartment of the palace. He was dreadfully emaciated, and but for the rolling of a pair of eyes in a visage covered with hair, there was nothing which betokened animation, much less humanity. There was none but the bat to dispute his reign, or the spider which weaves its web in this palace of the Caesars. I had no inclination to disturb the process of ratiocination, or to ask to which sect of philosophers belonged this Diogenes of Mandor, who might, if he had utterance, have desired me to walk downstairs, and not intercept the sun-beam for whose warmth we were competitors.'' He speaks of 'Atita' monastery near Bhainsror, referring to its Mahanta and inmates. His description of them as matted, besmeared with ashes, wearing only a strip of a cloth could apply almost to any Samnyāsi. He found the Mahanta quite talkative and highly informative.

Today we do not come across the use of term 'atīta' among Śaiva ascetics. Hardly need we point out that 'atita' is not a separate order or class of Samynāsis unless we consider that section of the Samnyāsis which is held in light esteem as one. For Farquhar has seated that those six orders of the Dasanāmi Samnyāsis in which Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas were enlisted are looked upon as impure and styled Atita.

Of the four Āśramas or stages of life, that of the Brahmacāri is by all accounts the oldest known. It connotes primarily the period of studenthood. As such it was only the first stage of life and could not have been an end in itself. The term 'naiṣṭhika brahmacārin' signifying one who keeps celibate and keeps up his studenthood for life comes into use later. It was after one of the later Upaniṣads proclaimed that one could go forth as a wanderer renouncing the world at any stage when one felt the urge for renunciation that this term was applied to those persons who straightway became ascetics without entering the householder's stage of life. Long before this usage and phenomenon, it apears, however, there were well known personages who were known to be Brahmacāris for life. Some of them were considered to have eternal life. The most famous and the earliest of them, as already noted, were Sanatkumāra, Nārada, Sanaka, Sanatsujāta and Sanandana. Technically they could not be called Samnyāsis and they have never been so described. Among moderns, the great Śankaracārya himself could have been described as the greatest of them but for the fact that another ascetic Govindapādācārya, who was himself the disciple of the great Ācārya Gauḍapāda, is traditionally known to have formally initiated him into Samnyāsa. Jñānadeva *alias* Jñāneśvara is actually the greatest of such amoung moderns.

It would be utterly wrong to recognize Brahmacāris as a separate class of Samnyāsis as Wilson does or even as Oman has it. Śankarācārya while putting the order of Samnyāsis on a propr basis is believed to have recognized a class of novitiates attached to each one of his four great monasteres. They called Brahmacāris and serve as ministers and helpers to the senior Śamnyāsis. In spite of this subordinate nature of their duties, from the information gathered by us we are in a position to state that the Brahmacāris at the four monasteries have different appellations, indicative of their stage of self-realization. It will be seen that the realisation indicated by their name in each case refers to only one aspect of the Supreme Self. Svarūpa Brahmacāri means one who knows his own self.

The second appellation in Prakāśa Brahmacāris meaning one who knows and realises the self as light. One who delights in the realisation of the self and feels the consequent bliss in Ānanda Brahmacāri . The fourth appellation, namely Caitanya Brahmacāri, means one who realises Brahma as consciousness. It is not quite clear from the information available whether the Brahmacāris continue to remain so and bear the same appellation throughout life. If it were so, then Oman would be justified in separating them as a distinct class of Samnyāsis. If not, Brahmacāris only represent a stage of asceticism and not a separate class of Samnyāsis.

There are other indications showing that in part at least the Brahmacāris are a separate class of Samnyāsis. There is one 'āśrama' of Brahmacāris on mount Girnar, one of the most famous places for all sorts of Samnyāsis to gather together. It is noteworthy that mount Girnar is one of the few places where there are the foot-prints of Dattātreya on a lonely splendid peak. They are believed to be his original foot-prints. The cult Dattātreya, though he is looked upon as a patron deity by Samnyāsis, is not met with among the populace north of the Narmada. Every pilgrim, be he an ascetic or a householder when he visits mount Girnar does not return without paying his homage to the foot-prints of Dattātreya. Significantly, the Brahmacāri āśrama is situated on the path to the Dattātreya peak, beyond the Jain temples but before the Gorakhnātha cave. When Dr. Chapekar visited the place, there were about twenty-five Brahmacāris in the Āśrama.

Even stronger evidence than this for the existence of a class which may properly be called Brahmacāri Samnyāsis as contrasted with the Dasanāmi Samnyāsis is provided by their organisation which is designed to meet the needs of offence and defence against other orders and even against the civil authority if need be. One of the units in this organization is called an 'ākhāḍā'. The Brahmacāris have an 'ākhāḍa' which is called Agan and is separate and distinct from the six 'ākhāḍas' of the Dasanāmi Nāgā Samnyāsis. Again is evidently a corrupt form of 'agni', meaning fire. At the famous assemblage of ascetics and others for the Kumbha-Melā, the Agan Ākhāḍa of Brahmacāris marches along with the 'ākhāḍas' of the Dasanāmi Samnyāsis. They wear ochre-coloured clothes. They allow their hair on the head to grow and wear them matted in a crown. They do not discard their sacred thread.

10
The Aṣṭāvaraṇas

From the vast material preserved in the ancient Sanskrit Literature, it appears that the sacerdotal form of religion made its appearance before philosophy in the Vaidika religion. The Brāhmaṇas, which follow the Samhitās, are distinct theological treatises, embodying the sacerdotal tradition foreshadowed in the hymns of the Vedas. The last portions of the Brāhmaṇas, known as the Āraṇyakas, 'Forest books', contain in their last chapters the Upaniṣads, the famous philosophical treatises, probably unrivalled in the history of mankind of that period. The ceremonials which formed the earliest portion of the Brāhmaṇas are systematically codified in the Sūtras, which "aim at giving a plain and methodical account of the whole course of the rites or the practices with which they deal". These Sūtras are again grouped into three divisions, namely, the Śrauta-Sūtras, which deal with the Śrauta rites, fourteen in number; the Smārta-Sūtras, including the Gṛhya-Sūtras, which deal in detail with the household ceremonies or rites to be performed in daily life in the presence of the domestic fire, including the sacraments (Saṁskāras), forty in number; and the Dharma sūtras, the original source of the present Hindu law. The very careful attention bestowed on these rites, the minute description of them, the strict observance and hard rules for expiation in case of their violation and the voluminous literature written in exposition of them from the Vedic period to the days of Hemādri or Nīlakaṇṭha, obviously prove the great importance they occupy in Hinduism even at the present day.

But this very important factor in Hinduism is relegated to a secondary place in Śaivism in general and in Vīraśaivismin particular. In Vīraśaivism not only is it completely ignored, but strange to see, it is criticised with all force. In the Śaiva-Siddhānta many such important rites as would take place on the occasion of birth, marriage, death etc., do not differ materially from those mentioned in the Gṛyha-Sūtras, the process being generally the same. The Śaiva-Siddhānta, though it owes allegiance to the Śaivāgamas, in fact does not disclaim loyalty to ritualism based on those ritual works which form portions of and are included in the expansive Vedic literature, generally known as the Vedas. But Vīraśaivism boldly rebelled, and completely achieved its independence by liberating itself from the thraldom of the laborious sacerdotal tradition.

The influence of these rites was already waning in the Śaivāgamas. It cannot be

definitely said, at present, why and at what time in the religious history of India ritualism began to lose its hold. It is true that the rise of Buddhism dealt a very strong blow to the sacrificial phase of Hinduism; but if Macdonell is right in assigning 500-200 B.C. to the Sūtra period then it is not auterior to, but contemporary with the Bauddha period. In the Sūtra there apears to be no sign of a decline in the influence of ritualism. What we are now concerned with is the waning influence of the ritualism, not outside the pale of Hinduism, but inside. Śaivism claims to be a member of Hinduism. Many passages of the Śaivāgamas clearly assert this claim. There is another view which tries to trace Śaivism to an aboriginal cult. Much can be said on both sides; yet the final word must be reserved till more reliable materials are made available in course of time. The available Śaiva books unanimously claim the inclusion of Śaivism in Hinduism with the Vedas as the fountain-head.

The Śaivas never seem to have separated themselves from Brahmanism in ancient days as the Buddhas or Jainas did, though it is more probable that Śaivism was a revolt from within, while Buddhism and Jainism were revolts from the outside. The universally admitted authority of some of the sectarian Upaniṣads, like the Śvetāśvatara, is sufficient to indicate the place of Śaivism in Brahmanical Hinduism. The Śaivāgamas prepared the ground for secession from some of the authoritative rites of the Sūtras by assigning to them less importance than is claimed for them, and also by emphasizing the worship of a deity in a temple, which is entirely absent in the Sūtras. Vīraśaivism went a step further in openly declaring the futility of these rites. It even discourages the worship of a deity in the temple, though such worship is emphasised by the Śaivāgamas, which it accepts as its authority. At what period Vīraśivism established its ground firmly cannot now be conclusively ascertained; but it certainly reached this conclusion before the advent of the 12th century *i.e.*, before Basava and other Śiva-Śaranas undertook the work of reconstruction.

By this it must not be understood that the Vīraśaivas have no ceremonies. Their Church retains some ceremonies which are very simple and bear no resemblance to those of the Vedas. Vīraśaivism attaches great importance to the Aṣṭavaraṇa, the eight coverings or emblems, which form one of the essential factors of their creed. These are:

1. The Guru

The spiritual guide who initiates the novice into the Vīraśaiva fold with due forms. The reverence to the Guru, in the Vīraśaiva has no limit. He is superior to father and mother, since it is he who is the cause of the spiritual birth, which is far more important than the birth of a corporeal body. He is considered to be worthy of more reverence than is due to Śiva, the Supreme, because it is he who leads the soul to unity wth Śiva. In short, his place in Vīraśa Śivsm is unique. Some suggest that the veneration of the Guru in Vīraśaivism is traceable to Buddhism. But in Upaniṣadic stories there are many instances in which the Guru, the expounder of the Brahma Vidyā, the lore of Brahman, is looked upon with great awe and respect by his pupils, whether they may be kings, as in the case of Janaka, Jānantapi Pautrāyaṇa, or Brāhmans, as in the case of Āruṇi, who approached

King Caitra Gārgyāyaṇa for spiritual education, or Gārgya, a proud Brāhman who approached King Ajātaśatru for the same purpose. In the Brāhmaṇas, too, the principal officiating priest is highly respected. Therefore there is no justification for deriving the reverence for the Guru from Buddhism. But in Vīraśaivism the Guru is looked upon as something more than a highly respected person. Vīraśaivism mentions three kinds, or more correctly, three functions of the Guru, namely, the initiator or Dīkṣa-Guru, the trainer or Śikṣā-Guru, and the Mokṣa-Guru, who secures the final goal. One or more persons can do these duties; but if they are different, all are equally honoured as if they are one. In the original stage of Vīraśaivism it appears that only one person undertook all the three functions.

2. The Liñga

The Liṅga is an emblem of the Supreme God. Nowhere in the sacred books of the Vīraśaivas or even in the tradition current among them is to be found the remotest suggestion that the Liṅga is Phallus or the male generative organ. To them it is not an image of Śiva, but Śiva himself. He resides in the disciple in the form of Caitanya, and He is extracted in the form of Liṅga by the Guru through his spiritual power and given into the disciple's hands for worship. It is described as a great mass of light on the palm shining before the eye, mind and bhāva. The Liṅga is believed to be equal to the Guru in respect of the reverence due to it, though it is offered by him, since it represents Śiva. It must on no account be separated from the body, since its separation is equivalent to a spiritual death. Śiva is not to be worshipped in any other form but that of the Liṅga, obtained from the Guru at the time of initiation, Dīkṣa. The worship offered to Śiva in any other form is condemned.

3. The Jaṅgama

This is a Sanskrit word, meaning 'moving object' or that which is not fixed in one place, the opposite of Sthāvara, fixed. It is generally applied in Vīraśaivism to a person of a religion order, who is always travelling from place to place preaching religion and morality to the Vīraśaivas and to others who like to hear him. This is the original meaning of Jaṅgama; but now many Jaṅgamas have abandoned this vocation and have settled in towns and villages, usually superintending the religious functions of the community: in other words, they have now become the priests of the community. What kind of a person can be called a Jaṅgama is explained by a Śaraṇa, the author of Sangana-basava's Vacana:

> "A man under Upādhis and attached to women can never be a Cara or Jaṅgama. I never admit such a thing. To admit such a thing is a sin. Jaṅgama is one who has negatived six things—attachment, Upādhis, Office, Dependence, Karaṇa, and Lampaṭa. He who is firm in the path of the Pramathas, who is a great Śaraṇa and who has wiped out the distinctions such as Guru, Śiṣya, Bhakta, Jaṅgama, Father, Son, I and You, is a Jaṅgama to whom I bow."

The Virāgama describes a Jaṅgama as one who is free from worldly attachments, free from burdens, free from restrictions, free from Upādhis, free from bodily cravings, and free from the influence of Malas. No distinctions are made between the Guru, the Liṅga and Jaṅgama, all of whom are believed to be equal and to share the same reverence.

There seems to be a striking similarity between the Guru, Liṅga and Jaṅgama of the Vīraśaivas and the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha of the Bauddhas. The Guru of the Vīraśaivas coincedes with the Buddha, who is practically a teacher. The Liṅga, the symbol of Śiva, probably agrees wth the Dhamma, since the Liṅga is one of the central topics like the Dhamma of the Bauddhas. The Jaṅgama probably tallies with the Saṅgha, since Jaṅgama does not mean an individual but a group or class of individuals whose vocation is to preach religion and morality like that of the Bhikkus, who form the Saṅgha. Moreover, the followers of each religion show the same reverence and devotion to these.

4. The Pādodaka

This literally means the water from the feet of the Guru, hence 'holy water'. The Viraśaivas have a perfect faith in the holiness of their Gurus and Jaṅgamas, who are believed to lead a life of purity and chastity. It is believed that all objects touched by such holy men become holy. Theoretically, a member of the Viraśaiva community is to make use of such objects as are made holy by the touch of the Guru, Liṅga and Jaṅgama. The Pādodaka is one of them. There are passages in the Viraśaiva books representing extreme views, namely that 'no water which is not touched by the Guru or Jaṅgama should be used" for the purpose of drinking or cooking; but according to a moderate view, the Pādodaka is holy water obtained from the Guru specially at the time of his Liṅga-pūjā for the purpose of sipping, which the Viraśaivas believe, purifies the mind and body. There is a process of a preparing Pādodaka which is observed very minutely even today in the course of which the Guru utters some formulas (mantras). There is no uncleanliness or indecency at all, as is imagined by some non-Língāyats. It is simply based on a belief, and is an indication of extreme devotion (Bhakti) towards the Guru or Jaṅgama. According to Sanganabasava's Vacana, there are ten modes of the Pādodaka, of which four are principal and the remaining are subsidiary.

5. The Prasāda

This is a Sanskrit work meaning 'favour', and is used in the sense of an object indicating favour, *i.e.*, an object given by the Guru to indicate his favour towards him to whom he gives it. It generally takes the form of some eatable thing such as fruits, food, etc. Here Prasāda means consecrated food: to describe it more clearly, it is food offered by the devotee to his Guru, who hands it back to him, thus making it holy. According to Sangana-basava's Vacana, there are eleven modes of Prasāda. The word Prasāda is not met with in the Viraśaiva literature in the sense of Bhuktaśeṣa, the remainder of what is

eaten, as is imagined by non-Liṅgāyats, but it may be interpreted as a 'food' to be partaken of by the Guru and his devotee in the same place. There is nothing indecent or unclean in this, even from a non-Liṅgāyat point of view, just as there is no indecency or uncleanliness in eating at the same table, as is done in England, and in many Christian families in India.

The Pādodaka and Prasāda are interpreted ideally in many passages of the Vacanśāstra, which clearly point to the great reverence and importance attached to them. Sangana-basava's Vacana says: "Sir, I call him alone the true Prasadī, one who attained Prasāda, who floats in the ocean of bliss of great satisfaction derived from offering ten modes of Pādodaka, uttering 21 mantras, to ten aspects of the Liṅga with free and open mind." The same book in another place says: "Prasāda is not what is touched by the Guru, Liṅga, or Jaṅgama, separately. Guru-Liṅga-Jaṅgama is he who has attained to the secret of the Anādi-Liṅga, the beginningless Liṅga, who turns his eight interal forms into eight forms of worship and who has conquered completely the influence of the Pāśas, such as Mala, Māya, etc. Whatever, comes into contact with him or whatever he touches, becomes the Prasāda (Mahāprasāda)."

It is more probable that the originators of Vīraśaivism had a social and philosophic purpose in introducing the Pādodaka and Prasāda into the cult. They wanted probably to achieve what they preached by bringing it into practice? Their aim in philosophy was to show the divinity in man, by reason of which man can be raised to the godhead. He can rise so high as to become one with the Supreme, the achievement of which stage they designate as Aikya-Sthala. By the Pādodaka form they probably sought to show the unity of God and man. The Pādodaka form, briefly described, is as follows:

At the time of the Liṅga-pūjā, the Guru pours a small quantity of consecrated holy water, Pādodaka, which he himself has given, over his Liṅga and sips it; the devotee then pours a small quantity of the remaining holy water over his Liṅga and sips it. This indicates probably that there is no distinction between the Guru, the Liṅga and the devotee, all being one unity in the Aikya-Sthala.

Their social aim was to remove all kinds of distinctions such as caste, (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc.,) rank, (high-born, low-born, rich or poor etc.) and sex, (male or female), and to introduce equality and common brotherhood in religion as well as in society. To achieve this, probably, the Prasāda was introduced. The Prasāda is partaken of by the Guru and the devotee, whatever, may be his rank or sect, or vocation in life, in the same place, which fact serves to remove the barriers of a caste, rank, sex, etc. Only one who is well versed in the traditions of Hinduism can understand the importance of dining together in the same place and appreciate these key-notes, introduced into Vīraśaivism by its originators under the zeal of religion. What a storm of protest and persecution these bold reformers must have faced ! It is now wonder that they were depicted by the contemporary Brāhmaṇas as heretics and so on.

6. The Vibhūti

This is a Sanskrit word meaning 'great prosperity' but is used in the technical

sense of 'holy ash'. It is believed to be sacred in all schools of Śaivism. Śiva is described in the Purāṇas as very fond of besmearing his body with ashes. But in Vīraśaivism, the Vibhūti does not mean ordinary ash, but holy ash prepared by a virtuous, religious and learned man by a special process. There are elaborate rules to be strictly observed in its preparation, which state how and from what kind of cow the dung is to be collected, dried and burnt with utterance of the Mantras, and mixed with other holy vegetable ingredients, etc. All these processes are even today strictly observed. Some staunch Vīraśaivas do not use matches for producing fire in the process of preparing the Vibhūti. They obtain fire either by rubbing wood or metal and stone, or by means of lenses.

7. The Rudrākṣa

These are a kind of seeds sacred to Śiva. The Śaivas of all schools believe that these originated from the eyes of Rudra; hence they are called Rudrākṣa. These being the common property of all schools of Śaivism, all Śaivas wear them in the form of garlands round their neck, wrist, head, etc. They also serve the purpose of beads in counting during prayers:

8. The mantra

This is a sacred formula and consists of five syllables, Namaś-Śivāya, altogether forming a sentence, meaning "Obeisance to Śiva". This is called the Pañcākṣara-mahāmantra, the great mantra of five letters. The addition of "OM" makes it the six-lettered mantra, Ṣaḍkṣara. It is to the Śaivas what the Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī is to the Brāhmaṇas. The Śaivas glorify it as the King of mantras, Mantrarāṭ, and to them it is far weightier than the 70 million other mantras put together. It is the only mantra to the Śaivas, though some schools such as the Śaiva Siddhānta accept the Gāyatrī as a subordinate mantra. The Vīraśaivas do not accept any other mantras except this.

These eight are known as Āvaraṇas, coverings, clothings, emblems, or marks, which distinguish a Vīraśaiva from other sects. Certainly these are not sacraments, as is mentioned in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Surely Mr. Enthoven is misinformed about these in believing and describing them to be sacraments.

11
Avadayakkal

The general belief among the devotees of the Lord is that Lord Śiva Himself incarnated in this world as Jgatguru Ādi Śankrachārya of Kaladi, and that Mother Pārvati incarnated Herself as Śri Avadayakkal of Shaikotta, apparently to prove that women, too, could attain self-realisation even in this *Kali Yuga.*

Birth

Avadayakkal was born of a pious Śaiva Vadara couple of Shonkettai in South India. Even as a child, she showed signs of a high mental state. She would do nothing voluntarily. For everything, she had to be prompted. She would eat, what was given, she would put on whatever dress was given. She would go where she was asked to go, and did whatever she was told to do.

Marraige

She was married to a Brahman boy even when she was a child. And when Avadaia came of age, the parents fixed a date for her nuptials. Avadaia was dressed nicely for the occasion and led into the bridal chamber by her relatives, who shut the door and came away. Her husband was sitting on the bed and watching her. She would not move from the spot where she was left by her relatives. The boy picked up a garland of flowers that was lying on the bed and smelt it. There was a venomus cobra in the garland and it bit him at once to unconsciousness. Before long, the husband was dead.

In the next morning, in accordance with the prevailing custom, the ladies of the house came to the bridal chamber and opened the door, to their astonishment, the girl Avaida stood their rooted to the same spot where she had been left. They asked her why she merely stood there? She replied: "Why—You had asked me to stand here?" They looked at the husband and they grew suspicious, when they went near the bed, they found the husband dead. They attributed this to the girls evil stars and took the girl and the husband's corpse out of the room.

The obsequines were duly performed and the girl's head was shaven, ornaments removed and white cloth given. But Avadi did not have any feelings at all about the loss

of the young husband. She was declared a widow, an embodiment in auspiciousness, forbidding her to come out of her room or to attend any festivals. Avadi would bet up very early in the morning and go to the river for bath, for she had to return to the house before the other people woke up.

Enlightenment

One morning, Avadi went to the river to take her bath. Before bathing, she picked up mango leaf from the bed of the river to clean for teeth. The moment she applied that leaf to the teeth, she had a strange transcendental experience. In fact, what happened is that in the morning sage Ayyaval (A *Gurubhakt* of sage Sadasiva Brahman was there, mediitating underneath a *peepal* tree. He had cleaned his teeth on the banks of the same river and thrown away the mango leaf used by him on the bed of the river. Avadi had picked up the same leaf, and the moment the sage's *uchistha* or sacred remnant was swallowed by her, the little dirt that covered the *Atma Jyoti* in her was washed away. She at once realised the Atman within and instinctively walked to the feet of the sage under Peepal tree. Avadia prostrated to Ayyaval. Placing his hand (*Hastidiksha*) on her head, the sage pronounced: "*Brahma Satyam*" Avadi's heart was illuminated. She entered into *Samadhi* and a little later Ayyaval gave her a *linnyaja* to worship. From that very moment, Saraswati had taken her abode on Avadi's tongue and Avadi's transcendental experience. She flawed through her tongue in the shape of divine inspiring songs.

In the meantime, Avadi's parents died. This gave Avadi a great independence of movement. She at once opened the doors of her home and went out into the wide world. She went from place to place, singing wisdom, radiating wisdom, transmitting wisdom to one and all that came near her. During the course of her journey, she reached Tiruvananthapuram. As usual she took her bath in a tank and wanted to do huge *Puja*. The King, who had heard of her and of her regular worship of the linga with bad leaves had sent her a basketful of golden *bael* leaves for worship. Avadia bathed in the tank and sat about on the bank to perform the worship with the golden *bael* leaves. As soon as Puja was over, Avadia collected the *bael* leaves and threw into the tank as *Nirmalaya* (offered flowers) as is the custom. The king understood that golden leaves or plain leaves were same to Avaida.

From Tiruvananthapuram, Avadia went to a conference of the heads of religious sects. She thrilled the audience with her supreme wisdom and established the unity of all sects.

Return to Gurudev

Avadia returned to Guru Gurudeva and joined the fold. She was the only women disciple. However, the other disciples ill treated her. She wanted to teach a lesson to others. One day, all the disciples rowed to a sand mound in the middle of ther river Cauvery. They all meditated but suddenly water started rising. So all left in haste leaving Ayyaval behind. Water continued to rise and soon it seemed that Ayyaval would be

washed away but Gurudev held his hand towards her in great assurance. The water stopped rising and receded after three days, leaving Ayyaval safe and sound. Such is the power of *Sādhanā*.

Aiyadikal Kadavarkon

The other ruling monarch who wrote poetry is Aiyadikal Kadavarkon, a Pallava king who became a Śiva *bhakta*. It has been suggested that he is identical with Pallava Paramesvaravarman who ruled from c. 670-700, but we have no historical data to support this identification, his name being only a title. As Zvelebil points out, the name in Tamil means that "fatherly (*ai*) holiness (*adikal*) Pallava (*kadavar*) king (*kon*)." It is rather strange that we have no historical data about a ruling monarch; strange too that hagiography fails to provide us with any anecdotes about his life.

Aiyadikal has left us a single poem in twenty-four verses called *Tirukoyil Tiruvenpa*, or "Verses on sacred shrines". The emphasis in his poem is not so much on the glory of each shrine as the title might lead one to believe. Rather, each of the twenty-four stanzas gives a graphic picture of old age, dwelling upon its attendant dependence and decrepitude, and stresses the urgent need to turn to god before it is too late, to worshp. Śiva in one of his many shrines. The poem derives its title from Aiyadikal's reference to a different Śiva temple in each verse. The verses below give a clear idea of the content of this poem:

When you are very old
and can barely move
those around will cease to care
for your end has come—
Before you quit this frame
O my mind
reach Tillai Chidambaram.

Your wife and all you have
last as long as you breathe
Gossip with neighbours lasts
while yet your pulse beats
The love of relatives endures
till the ritual funeral dip—
So my mind always adore
Śiva of Valaikulam.

Before life leaves your frame
and the final rites take place
with weeping and wailing

relatives upon your corpse
Worship the Lord of Maraipadi—
Nor Brahma normal
could fathom his greatness
Wonderful Lord of bliss.

Sunken eyes and stammering speech
hands-a-tremble, legs faltering
upon a stick
Before senility sets in
go to the shrine of Tiruppandal
where the Lord showed favour
to fortunate Tadakai
the Lord whose single arrow
laid waste the cities three.

When you are old and very ill
"Take this medicine"
say those around you
Slowly you rise and cough
and say: "I want it not"—
O my mind
Before such time arrives
seek that refuge
Lord of Tirumayanam.

Aiyadikal clearly had close and distressing encounters with the miseries of old age. His prime purpose seems to have been to convey in direct and strong language the pressing need to seek refuge at the feet of the Lord Śiva who abides in so many temples. In the process, however, poetic elegance is sacrificed, and the verses show little of the lilt of the Tamil language. In fact, this poem is of interest primarily because it is the earliest known one written by a Pallava ruler. Like those of Cheraman, this poem too is included in the eleventh book of the Śaiva canon. Images of Aiyadikal were made only for inclusion in the complete group of sixty-three where he is depicted as a standing, crowned figure.

12

Badrinath: Himalayan Pilgrimage

Anthropological approach to study the places of pilgrimage, as a dimension of civilization, has now become an important and independent subject of research not only in Indian anthropology, but also in World Anthropology. In India there are a numbers of Hindu sacred centres, belonging to various sects and traditions, of which some have been studied by anthropologists and it will not be out of context to review some of these works with a view to throw light on the nature of the study of "the sacred complex" of Hindu sacred centres.

Vidyarthi 1961, a student of Redfield, studied a great traditional city of Hindu Gaya (India), located in the ancient cultural zone of Magadh which actually initiated the rise of "sacred complex" studies in Indian anthropology." Following the foot-steps of Vidyarthi's concept of "sacred complex", Jha (1971) studied the "scared complex of Janakpur Nepal)" and brought out the main theses that the civilizational boundary oversides the political and administrative boundaries. However, it was found that the concept of "sacred complex" has a wider acceptability and universality in the study of Hindu places of pilgrimage. After these two major works, a number of Hindu places to pilgrimage have been studied, which have been described and reviewed elsewhere. However, when we look at the Himalayan sacred centres, we find that no significant work has been done and, therefore, I undertook the study of Badrinath, located in the Garhwal Himalaya, which is the super-most *tirtha* (place of pilgrimage) of the Hindus.

Among the four *dhams* of the Hindus Badrinath is the most important *dham* located in the Garhwal Himalaya region which is mentioned in the sacred texts of the land as *Uttarakhand.*

The cultural boundary of Uttarakhand more or less coincides with the political boundary of eight hill districts of Uttar Pradesh *i.e.* Dehradun, Tehri Garhwal, Uttar-Kashi, Pauri Garhwal, Nainital, Almora, Pithoragarh and Chamoli. The sacred centres of Badrinath, however, fall in the district of Chamoli.

As discussed earlier a number of Hindu-*tirthas* have been studied by the anthropologists but all these centres of pilgrimage are located in plain lands of the country. But all of us know that ecological set up plays a very important role in moulding the mode of worship, organisation of sacred specialist, their life patterns, dresses etc. which have not been studied in detail in Indian anthropology.

In Himalaya the sacred centre of Badrinath is located at an altitude of more than 10,000 ft. in the Garhwal area, where the Yatra season (pilgrimage) continues only for six months from May to late October every year, and thereafter the doors of Badrinath temple are closed for six months. This is mainly done due to ecological obstacle, because no pilgrim or any devotee can stay at Badrinath during the severe cold season when the heaviest snowfall is recorded in Badrinath.

The Sacred Geography of Badrinath : The presiding deity of Uttarakhand is Lord Badrinath. There are various sacred centres, located and distributed in the Uttarakhand and therefore the word "Uttarakhand" is found in many "Purāṇas" and other sacred texts of the land. The sacred centres, found in and around Badrinath, are also very important for understanding the complexities of the sacred geography of the area.

Textual Dimension of the Himalayan Shrines : The largest number of the sacred centres are located in Central Himalayas. The central boundary of the Central Himalayas coincides more or less with Uttarakhand, which has been vividly mentioned in the Purans. In various sacred texts Uttarakhand is also known as Brahampur, Bhu-Swarg, Swapna-Brahampur etc. In the Rigveda as well as in the Sat-path Brahman the word Gangotri occurs for the first time. In the Buddhist literature especially in different *Jatkas* we find the word Uttarakhand as a place of pilgrimage. In the various Purans like Skanda Purans (especially Shristy Khand) and Shiv Puran etc. we get a vivid description of Uttarakhand and its various sacred centres. In the Aswamedha-parva of Mahabharat, Uttarakhand is described in detail when Arjun defeats the inhabitants of the Uttarakhand Again in the works of Kalidas (4th century A.D.) we find a detailed description of the places of Uttarakhand especially in the *Raghuvansham*, the *Kumarsambhavam* and the *Meghdootam* etc. which reveal as to how Himalays attacted the attention of writers, poets, saints and sages even during those days when there was lack of developed means of communication.

Adi Shankaracharya (788-820 A.D.) visited the Himalayan shrines around 814 A.D. and lived there for 6 years till he died in 820 A.D. in Kedarnath. We are further told that each year during summer he used to stay for six months in the Vyas Gupha near Mana village in Badridham and six months during winter at Kartikepur (now modern Joshimath). It was he who established the idols of Badrivishal at Badrinath after taking them out from the Narad Kund near Garur-Gupha.

Through historical documents we also come to know that during the ancient period of Indian History there were many sites for pilgrimage in Uttarakhand which were patronised by various ancient kingdoms of the central Himalayas like Rinida, Yodhem, etc. whose cultural patronage is still there. Shiv Prasad Dabral (1970), a local historian, has deciphered and described the various coins, written in the Karothi and Brahmini scripts of these Himalayan scripts of ancient India. Again, during the medieval period there were many kingdoms and among them special mention may be made of Kulinda Nagar, Kartikepur, Chandragarhi, Deoalgarh, and Champabat etc.

Myth and Legends of Badrinath : About the origin of present Badrinath there is

a myth according to which Lord Viṣṇu alongwith his spouse Laxmi left Thuling (very interior place in the Himalayas) as the place got corrupted by the meat-eating monks and other licentious people. He set up his *ashram* 4 km south of the village Mana on the bank of river Alakhnanda. He sat for a long severe meditation. Laxmi, finding her husband exposed to weather, assumed the form of a big Badri tree (jujubi) protecting him with her foliage. Having been pleased with devotion, Lord Vishnu named the place after the Badri tree and therefore it was called Badrika Ashram. Atkinson (1973) holds that there used to be jujubi forest (Badrivan) here which are presently not found at Badrinath.

There is another tradition which is also mentioned in the Vishṇu-Purān about the origin of Badrinath. Here the *pauranic* version is slightly different and also mentions for the first time about five types of Badrinath. According to the tradition Dharam had two sons—Nar and Narayan Parvat, where they selected their sites and since they desired to spread their religious activities on a large scale, they wedded spacious valley in this part of the higher Himalayas. In their search for an ideal place, they set up *ashram* at different places of natural beauty *viz.*, Bridha-Badri, Yog-Badri, Dhyan-Badri and Bhavish-Badri, conclusively they found the present Badrinath more suitable for having hot and cold spring besides the river Alakhnanda and it was called Badri-Vishal.

Contextual Dimensions of Badrinath : The Badrinath Dham, as all of us know, is situated on the western bank of the river Alaknanda which flows from north to south and makes a natural division between the sacred and secular zones at Badrinath. Towards west of Alaknanda river the famous Badrinath temple is situated besides various other sacred centres like the temple of Shankaracharya. Different *Tapta* (hot) Kund and different *shilas* (stones) represent various sacred centres.

While the western sites of the Alaknanda river represent the sacred zones, the eastern sites of the river represent the secular zones, which are represented by a large numbers of Dharamshala's (pilgrims inn), tourist lodge, P.W.D. Office, police station, hotels, restaurants, shopping centres etc.

Besides these two zones there may be another cluster of sacred centres located in and around the Mana village (about 3 km. extreme north of the Badrinath temple). Among them special mention may be made of the Vyas Gupha (the cave), Ganesh Gupha (cave) Bhim-Pula, Mata-Mandir and Basudhara etc.

Sacred Performances at Badrinath : In the study of sacred complexes of the different Hindu-tirtha (Vidyarthi, 1961; Jha 1971; Vidyarthi and Jha, 1974; Vidyarthi, Saraswati and Jha 1978 etc.) every act of worship, performed at a sacred centre has been called as sacred performance. This may vary from simple *jap* (uttering of God's name) to Darshan (glimpses of the idols) or from different types of Arti and Bhog to the complex form of *rituals* like yagana and *havan* or Maha *Abhisekham*. The Pujas performed in the morning are Mahabhiṣekham, Abhiṣekh, Geeta Path, Veda-Path, Bhagwat Path, Kapoor Arti, Swarna Arti, Astotari Vishnu Sahasranam Path, Vishṇu Sahasranambali, Atka, Geet Govind Path, Shyam Arti and Khir Bhog.

The Sacred Specialists of Badrinath : In the anthropological studies of the Hindu-tirtha, the sacred specialists play very important role in perpetuation of rites and rituals

as well as to establish a continuity between the centres of civilisation and the people of India. The sacred specialists are of different types, because they are specialised in a variety of sacred activities, and therefore in most of the studies on the sacred complexes carried out earlier (Vidyarthi: 1961, Makhan Jha: 1971, Vidyarthi, Saraswati and Jha : 1978) different types of sacred specialists have been discussed.

At Badrinath, when we look at the sacred specialists from this point of view we get a large number of the sacred specialists engaged in perpetuating the different types of sacred performances. The sacred specialists of Badrinath work is different ecological set up and, therefore they have a distinct style of life, dresses and food habits.

The Chief Priest of Badrinath temple is known as Rawal, who comes from Namboodri Brahmin family from Kerala. According to the present rule the Government of Uttar Pradesh has to write to Government of Kerala for the selection of a suitable Namboodri bachelor Brahmin for the post of chief priest at Badrinath. Among the essential qualifications for the post of Rawal, it is obligatory that the candidate should possess the degree of Acharya in Sanskrit, he should be bachelor, he should be well-versed in reciting the *mantras* and *vaishnav* mode of worship. Considering these qualifications and in consultation with the present Rawal of Badrinath, a candidate is recommended by the Kerala Government of Uttar Pradesh to forward his name to the king of Tehri-Garhwal, who is the tutelary head of the Badrinath, for he is called as, "Balond-Badri" (Movable Badri or Chalanti Badri), for his Tilak ceremony. As soon as the Tilak ceremony is held in Tehri, he becomes the chief priest of Badrinath and is addressed as Rawal. He resides at Badrinath permanently for six months from Baisakh to Kartik till the temple of Badrinath remains open and, thereafter, he either goes on pilgrimage or resides at his village in Kerala State. The topology of other sacred specialists, who assist him in conducting daily rituals at Badrinath temple like Nayab Rawal, Dharma-Dhikari, Ved-Pathi, a group of priests and Pandas Samadhini, Bhandari, Rasoiyas (cooks), Devotional Singer, Clerk of Dev-ashram, Water-keeper, Jal Bhariya, Guards etc., is very interesting.

All sacred specialists are engaged in Badrinath temple only for six months because in the winter season the door of the Badrinath temple is closed. Then the movable idol of Badrinath is brought to Joshimath for sojourn during next six months.

So far the dresses of the sacred specialists in general are concerned they wear the woollen garments of different types because of the higher altitude. In the plain land we have observed that the sacred specialist of the Hindu Tirtha especially those who perform the ritual inside the temple, remain naked and usually and do not wear *banian* or any other cloth on their body. But as the situation at Badrinath is quite different because of ecological set up sacred specialists have to wear heavy garments. Ecological conditions mould not only the mode of worship, but also their dresses, diets etc.

The Pilgrim : Their Typology : The concept of pilgrimage exists in all major religions, although, not unexpectedly, its meaning varies to a great extent within the conical structures of each religion. In Hinduism, the pilgrimage to holy places in an ancient and continuing religious tradition. Numerous sacred centres distributed in various parts of India, attract millions of pilgrims. Some sacred centres draw pilgrims from all over the country while others attract largely from the local and regional area.

In Hinduism the institution of pilgrimage has been mainly described as a religious tradition, but in addition to it, the pilgrimage has many significant dimensions. The innumerable sacred centres can be conceived as a system of nodes having varying degree of socio-religious traits. It is found that while some places are focal points for pilgrims from the entire vast Indian Sub-continent with the variegated cultural mosaic, other from modest places may serve as centres of congregation of devotees from the immediate vicinity and between these two extremes there are sacred centres of several intermediate levels. The sacred centres of several levels, thus, have their corresponding pilgrim "field" and those pilgrims interact freely at several stages. In this way the sacred centres in India generate a gigantic network of socio-religious circulation in compassing the entire Hindu population.

Development of Hindu Pilgrimage : Several scholars have expressed their view on the origin and the development of the practice of Tirtha-Yatra (pilgrimage) and in many sacred texts we find reference about different types of pilgrimage. Its antiquity is evidenced by both the Brahminical and Buddhist literature.

The Purana and Uppurans also elaborately describe various types of pilgrimages. In addition to epics and the Purans, the writers of the Nibandhas (digest and commentaries) also emphasized on the types, nature and importance of Tirtha-Yatra. Among the various Nibandhas which deals with Hindu Pilgrimage of Medieval India, special mention may be made of Laxidhar's *Tirtha-Kal*pataru, Narayanbhatt's *Tirthalisetu*, Hetnadri's Chaturbarna-*Chintamani*, Mitra-Mishra's *Tirtha Prakash* etc.

Democratic Nature of Pilgrimage : The Pilgrimage is a sacred act, and hence those who go for pilgrimage are all sacred "(Saraswati, 1965, pp. 30-43) besides that pilgrims are also guided by certain rules and traditions which may be said of liberal and democratic nature. For example, there is no caste and sex restriction on going to the pilgrimage as have been found in the study of Janakpur (Jha: 1971), Kashi (Vidyarthi, Saraswati and Jha : 1978) etc. It has been found in Janakpur that pilgrims belonging to different castes participate in *Parikarmas* (holy circumambulation) and nobody makes any objection from any section of the societies.

Changing Taking Place in the *Himalayan* Pilgrimage : The socio-cultural millieu in Uttarakhand is deeply shaped by the Himalayan *ecology. The mountainous terrain and the cold climate* not only regulate dietary habits but also enforce certain clothing requirement. Thus, unlike the pilgrimage undertaken at the *tirthas* of the plain land, the pilgrimage of the Himalayan shrines requires extraordinary preparation from the very beginning till it is concluded either at Haridwar or at Rishikesh. Previously when Pilgrims used to go on foot, they too about 45 days to cover the distane from Haridwar to the Badrinath Dham. But after India's independence motorable road was constructed from Rishikesh to Joshimath and after Joshimath pilgrims used to go on foot to Badrinath, till 1962. When Indo-China war broke out in 1962 and Chinese soldiers, entered in Mana village and killed many Indian soldiers, the Government of India made a pacca all-weather road not only

from Joshimath to Badrinath but also repaired the road going up to different valleys in the Himalayas. I consider this development as the landmark in the changing pattern of Himalayan pilgrimage. When the on-foot pilgrimage turned into wheel-born pilgrimage, it gave birth to many subsidiary and satellite business, like hotels and restaurants, taxi hiring etc. and therefore, Himalayan pilgrimage has become an "industry" through which the people of the Himalayan region earn their livelihood.

Conclusion : Badrinath is considered a Hindu Tirtha of supreme importance among the Hindus of the world. Badrinath has been called as a Tirtha of *Satyug*. Its importance lies not only in its beautiful location in the high Himalayas but also in its existence and location in the midst of several Himalayan sacred centres which have deep mythological, textual and historical importane. Badrinath is nicely described in various texts. Its is deeply associated with various myths and is surrounded by various legends of the epic period of the great Bharat-war etc. Thus, from all respects the Badrinath is the greatest *Hindu-Tirtha*.

In Badrinath, various facets of "sacred complex" have moulded due to the ecological factors of the higher altitude. The dresses of the pilgrims and priests have changed because of severe cold. Lord Badrivishal, the God of Universe, is bathed with hot water whereas in the plains there are a large numbers of sared centres and nowhere the deity is bathed with hot water even in the winter season. It can be concluded that ecological factors do play an important role in moulding the mode of worship.

The chief sacred specialist of this Himalayan shrines who comes from south India, is called Rawal. He is a Namboodri Brahman, a bachelor, a well versed scholar of Sanskrit and is appointed as chief priest on the recommendation of the Government of Uttar Pradesh. He becomes "Rawal" after *Tilak* ceremony, performed by the King of Tehri Garhwal, who is the tutelary head of Badrinath. Garhwal Naresh is also called as "Balond Badri", for he is Badri-incarnate. The chief sacred specialist of Badrinath dominates over all other priests of this high Himalayan shrine and he distinguishes himself not only in conducting the sacred performance inside the Badrinath temple, but also in matters of several socio-religious context of the Badrinath temple management.

The people in general have strong feeling that Lord Badri-Vishal will save us in case of any insurgency by the neighbouring country. Badri-Vishal, therefore, is considered to be a symbol of national unity.

13
Basavēśvara

The biography of Basavaṇṇa has many sources: inscriptions, edicts, hagiographies, Purāṇas, his own poems, folk-traditions, and a few attempts at critical biographies. And yet, there is a marked absence of suficient truly reliable historical material. Since Basava was so many things—a saint, a poet, a political activist, a social reformer, a minister—it is not surprising that he should have been both praised as well as slandered and condemned. What follows is a reconstructed life-story of Basava, based on most of the available sources, and presented critically yet with sympathy and understanding.

Basava (other forms of the name in current use are Basavaṇṇa, lit, 'elder-brother B.' or Basavēśvara 'lord B.') was born in a village called Inguḷēśvara-Bāgēvādi, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Bijāpur district of Karnāṭaka. During the 11th-12th Century A.D., it was an agrahāra—a Brahmin settlement—housing five hundred Brahmin families in addition to several families of different castes. Most *of the Brahmins* were 'Saivites, well versed in Vedic lore and devotional songs. The centre of activities of the small town was the big Śiva temple there.

The headman of the town was Maṇḍageya Mādirāja. Mādāmbike was his wife. They were Śaiva Brahmins of the Kamme family belonging to Sānkhyāyana *gotra.* Mādirāja was a highly respected person of commanding personality. But the couple had no male issue for a long time. Mā*dāmb*ike observed therefore the vow of Nandikēśvara (so-called Vṛṣabhavrata), begging Śiva's sacred bull, god Nandi, for a son. And indeed, she was blessed with a child whom she named Basava (the Kannaḍa form of the Sanskrit Vṛṣabha, 'the Bull of Śiva').

The child grew up into a young boy in an orthodox Brahmin family of Sanskrit scholars. His father wanted him to become a scholar and a leader of the Brahmin community. And indeed, the boy was extraordinarily intelligent and had an amazing intuition. In no time he learn reading, writing, arithmetic, poetry, grammar, Vedas, Āgamas and Purāṇas. His parent were rich and affectionate; being the son of a privileged family, Basava obviously enjoyed a special position among the children. But, judging from several allusions in his poetry, he must have had some shattering experiences. His sensitivity and intelligence brought him to the realization of the soial abyss between himself, a sheltered, privileged, rich Brahmin boy, and the naked, ill-fed and despised

children of the low castes. The double life of the Brahmins became revolting to him: selfish and self-centered, cunning and deceitful, they performed their religious duties to achieve their worldly ends. Basava found the caste system and the ritualism of his home senseless and oppressive. At the same time, he loved to listen to the stories of men of God, in particular the legends about the sixty-three Śaiva saints of the Tamil country. Some of these stories—of Kaṇṇappa who has given his eyes to Śiva, of Siriyāḷa who was prepared to sacrifice his own son to please God—must obviously have made a deep impression on him since we find allusions to them again and again in his poems.

Every Brahmin should undergo an initiation ceremony called upanayana. The rite means that the boy is taken to a teacher and given to him for proper instruction and education. This formal *education* began usually at the age of eight, and its outer symbol was the investiture with the sacred thread.

Basava reached now his eighth year and Mādirāja, like any orthodox Brahmin father, made all arrangements for the initiation ceremony. However, the boy revolted. He declared that he was not interested in such rites and that he would not wear the sacred thread. He even threatened to run away from home. But finally he apparently agreed, with great reluctance, to undergo the ceremony, for there are records of an upanayana for Basava dated in A.D. 1113-14.

Before a final confrontation between Basava and his parents could take place, his parents died (A.D. 1114). Basava went to live for some time with his grandmother. However, he found it impossible to observe all Brahminic rites and began to protect against caste injustices. After a few years, he took a final decision to leave the soiety in which he was born. He tore off his sacred thread and threw it away. When the situation at home became intolerable, he left his home and the town of Bāgēvāḍi, accompanied by his elder sister Nāgāmbike (Akkanāgamma), and went eastwards, until he reached Kappaḍisangama, where 'two rivers meet'.

Kappaḍisangama (also called Kūḍala Sangama or simply Sangama) is now a village in Hungund taluk of Bijāpur district. Kūḍalu and Saṅgama both mean 'confluence (of rivers)': indeed, it is a lovely place where the river Mālaprabhā joins the *Kṛṣṇā*, and *on the b*row of the confluence is erected the temple of Śiva-Sangamēśvara. It is a holy place and it was a famous centre of pilgrimage visited by tens of thousands all round the year. Also, in the age of Basava it was renowned for its scholarship. Basava decided to settle down in Kūḍala Sangama. There, he found his chosen God, the Lord of the Meeting River, Śiva-Sangamēśvara, or as he was also called, Kūḍala-Sangamadēva.

The temple was presided by a chief priest whose name was Īśānya Guru. Very probably, he belonged to an order of monks of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata Śaiva sect. He noticed Basava's deep attachment to God. He consoled and comforted him, and assigned to him the duty of bringing fresh water and flowers for worship.

The temple of the Lord of Confluence became everything to the young man. He would dance and sing for his God, and he would start teaching people devotional songs. The fame of this god-intoxicated youth began to spread. Basava began to attract people's attention, and thus Kūḍala Sangama became not only the seat of his personal sādhanā or

spiritual experience but also the foundation was laid there for his life of a religious and social leader.

An inner voice probably urged Basava to leave his sheltered life, go out into the world and work for mankind. On the other hand, it was difficult for him to leave Kūḍala Sangama and his Lord. Legend tells us that Lord Sangamēśvara himself appeared in his dreams, assuring Basava repeatedly that he would always be with him. Then only he made up his mind and went to Mangaḷavēḍa where Bijjḷa was a feudatory ruler under the royal dynasty of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa.

The lives of Basava and Bijjaḷa are so intimately connected that it is necessary to say a few words about this fascinating and tragical personality in the history of Karnāṭaka. Bijjaḷa belonged to the family of the Kalachuris who originated from Bandelkhand in Madhyapradeś. One branch of that dynasty came to South India and settled in Mangaḷavēḍa (Sholāpur district) as liegemen of the Chalukyas. Bijjaḷa was the son of Permadi who was closely related to the ruling imperial house of the Chalukyas. When the emperor died and his younger brother Taila III came to the throne, the ambitious, brave cunning and able Bijjaḷa exploited the great inability and weakness of the younger ruler, and ran the kingdom in his stead. In about A.D. 1162 he dethroned Taila, declared himself emperor, and very probably put Taila to death.

When Basava first came of Mangaḷavēḍa, though, Bijjaḷa was still a feudal lord ruling in the name of the Chalukya emperor.

The Purāṇic biographies of Basava tell us that his maternal uncle Baladēva (alias Siddhadānandanātha) was treasurer and minister *of* Bijjaḷa, and that it was on his advice that Bijjaḷa appointed Basava as gaṇaka or accountant.

A gaṇaka was an important official in the state administrative apparatus. He had to be honest and intelligent. Basava seems to have had all the qualities of an ideal accountant. Both his uncle and the ruler were pleased with his work. When soon after his arrival in Mangaḷavēḍa the treasurer died, Bijjaḷa appointed Basava Chief Treasury Officer (bhanḍāri with the title of daṇḍanāyaka).

Basava has now acquired position, power and fame. Shortly after the death of his uncle, he married his two daughters, Gangambike and Nilālōcane. A very rate case: Basava knew how to combine in his own person a fully active and fully contemplative life. Simultaneously with his rise to power, Basava's devotion of Śiva matured, and, as the hagiographer says, 'not only was he the ruler's treasurer, but he also became the treasurer of the Lord's love (bhati-bhanḍāri).' His fame as a man of honesty, purity, modesty and devotion spread far and wide. Śiva's wandering devotees *(Jangamas)* thronged his house. His home was described as *mahāmane* 'the great house.' Basava began composing and singing his *vacanas*, taing his inspiration from various sources: the lives of Tamil Śaiva saints, from Dēvara Dāsimayya of the 11th Century, from his own religious and social experience. He formulated his passionate monotheism :

dēvan obba, nāma halavu:
parama pativratege ganḍanobba

"God is but one, many his names:
the faithful wife know but one lord."

He began to preach his social reform. A new community of 'heroic Śaivas' grew in Mangaḷavēḍa: it rejected social inequality, it disregarded caste, class and sex, it mocked religious ritualism and ignored social conventions, it challenged orthodoxy. A social and political crisis was at hand when thousand of people came, mostly recruited from the poor and down-trodden masses, and embraced Basava's teachings. Among them were farmers, weavers, hunters, fishermen, shoemakers, barbers, merchants, and even Brahmins. The seeds of Basava's revolution—for, indeed, it was no more a reform but a revolution—were sown at Mangaḷavēḍa and they grew and bore fruit in Kalyāṇa. In the meantime, many drastic political changes took place in the state. Bijjaḷa usurped the Chalukya throne in A.D. 1162 and moved his capital from Mangaḷavēḍa to Kalyāṇa. As a result, Basava also moved into Kalyāṇa at that time, and became the Chief Treasurer of the emperor.

We do not know what his reaction to Bijjaḷa's usurpation of the throne was? He was a loyal servant of his master, and apparently went about his own work in the new milieu of the imperial court of Kalyāṇa without much concern about Bijjaḷa's legitimacy. But the shifting of the capital had an important impact on his other activities.

Kalyāṇa was big city bustling with life. Basavas continued to look after the state income and expenditure, and to keep records. For some time he was able—as stressed above—to achieve the rare, the almost impossible: to combine active, public, political life and loyalty to an unscrupulous though brave and able ruler with private, contemplative, non-attached existence of a religious thinker, poet, philosopher. However, after a time he was caught up in the conflict, as we see from several of his compositions. He calls himself Basava, useless and bare (818) who serves a wordling (*bhavi, i.e.* a non-Vīraśaiva, a 'non-believer'), sitting blow his throne. The conflict did not remain a personal matter of Basava. Soon the emperor's treasurer found himself in the midst of a public, social conflict.

First, there were isolated cases of unrest. We read, for example, of a washerman named Machayya and an untouchable called Śiva-nāgimayya roaming about the city without showing the expected deference to high-caste people. Machayya refused to wash the clothes of the upper classes. Śivanāgimayya stopped his customary warning shouting. The conservative elements in the society of Kalyāṇa accused Basava of instigating social unrest. Unavoidably, Basava earned some enemies while acquiring a large number of followers. Among the enemies were a few influential orthodox Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite Brahmins and even Jains, and some important officials. Since Basava fulfilled usually the needs and desires of the devotees who approached him and freely gave whatever they asked for, unmindful of the cost or consequences, allegations were made that he had squandered Bijjaḷa's treasury to pamper his own people. We cannot say whether such charges were pure fictions or whether indeed Basava did spend money drawn from the state treasury to foster his own movement. Bijjaḷa wanted to verify

whether there was any misappropriation and ordered an inquiry. The accounts were found to be correct to the last hon ('gold coin'). In Basava's poems there are a few references to this event, and these confirm that indeed charges were made against him.

The rift between Basava and the ruler was widening. There was growing opposition to the rising utopian group of his followers with its egalitarian ideals. Bijjaḷa, after all, was a follower of traditional Śaivism, fully aware of the fact that he had usurped the throne; he sensed danger in any attempt at social change. Basava's enemies gathered around the king and tried hard to poison his ears with gossip and accusation. As days went by, conflicts between Bijjaḷa and Basava multiplied. If we are to believe the legends, Basava was even dismissed once and assumed his duties only after the ruler's apology. But Bijjaḷa waited for a suitable opportunity to curb once and for all the rise of the Vīraśaiva community in his country.

One of the communities whose anger and hatred Basava earned was his own Brahmin community. The temple was a well-established religious and social institution; but to Basava, it represented the establishement to the privileged, the rich and the bigots. He introduced into Virasaivism the fundamental contrast between 'standing' and 'moving', *sthāvara* and *jangama:* the temple, being *sthāvara,* immovable, suggests stagnation and death; the body, being jangama, the 'going', moving temple, suggests life and growth. Make your body the temple of god; wear your own god on your body, *take him* along; a devotee's real love of Śiva is not tested in public but in privacy. Such a move, though provocative and possibly not quite practicable, was logical and necessary for Basava. The orthodox were not prepared to admit the untouchables into temples; but Basava had neither means nor desire to build temples, and most of his followers were poor and low-caste people. Hence, there was no other way for Basava than to boycott temples.

He also dismissed pilgrimages (since a Vīraśaiva is himself the abode of god) as waste of time, money and energy. He despised superstition. He attaced astrologers. He ridiculed the entire idea of pollution, absolutely crucial to established, normative Hinduism. For him, all men were basically equal. 'No man even came out of his mothers ears', says Basava, implying that we were all born out of the same womb. He loved the untouchables and attacked the very roots of the caste system.

Probably the most revolutionary among his ideas was the concept of physical work as divine service—the doctrine of kāyaka. The word literary means anything connected with the body. It is physical exertion or activity which every individual should take up and perform with all sincerity, since no one should be a burden to society. Exploitation of any kind was wholly unacceptable to Basava's god. Hence *kāyaka* came to imply hard work—physical or mental. 'We should realize him through the work we do', says Allama Prabhu. *Kāyaka, Kailāsa,* 'Work is heaven', wrote Basava. This doctrine also implied that no occupation was inferior or superior to an*other*—all jobs were of equal status and equally respectful if performed well.

Another evil which Basava attached was wealth. He was convinced—probably correctly—that most rich people amassed their wealth through unfair means. Money was the root of all evil. Basava compared the rich orthodox people to a devotee who let his

shoes outside and entered the temple: he stood before god, but worried only about the safety of his shoes outside.

Finally, for Basava, man and woman were like two eyes: one could not claim superiority over the other; they were like two sticks one placed over the other—both necessary to make fire. Vīraśaivism did not glorify celibacy; it did not condemn sex and marriage. Women enjoyed equal status with men; they were encouraged to express themselves through song and poetry. As a sresult, we final at least thirty-two women-poets who composed *vacanas* in the great century of Lingayata revical: Nilālōcane and Gangāmbike, Basava's wives, composed poems, as did Basava's sister Akkanāgamma; Pittavve the seller of pancakes, Ammave who spun yarn, but above all Akamādēvi, were also among the female poets. As M. Chidananda Murthy writes: 'It is doubtful whether there were, at any time, in any other Indian language, so many women writers.'

It was only natural that the finally Basava was accused of instigating the masses and upsetting established social order. Each of his concept was new, far ahead of his times, a blow to orthodoxy and conservatism. His activities evoked in Bijjaḷa feelings of anger, envy and fear.

The first crisis came when Jagadēva, a dignitary who, fascinated by Basava's teaching, had adopted the new ideas, and one day invited Basava's teaching, had adopted the new ideas, and one day invited Basava to dine in his house at a religious function. When the preparations were ready, instead of waiting for Basava, Jagadēva invited a few Brahmins and fed them. Basava reproached Jagadēva for his incivility and tactlessness, refused to come to his house, and Jagadēva repented his action and took a somewhat ferocious oath that he would atone for his action by killing an enemy of Vīraśaivism.

Two Vīraśaiva devotees lived in Kalyāṇa. Haraḷayya was an untouchable by birth, Madhuvayya a Brahmin. They were friends. Madhuvayya wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Haraḷayy's son. Basava had given his consent to the marriage and the entire Vīraśaiva community was jubilant over it. Such a marriage was, naturally, forbidden by law-givers. The traditionalists saw in it a terrible blow against the very pillars of their society. Bijjaḷa asked Haraḷayya and Madhuvayya to stop the marriage. They refused. The kind lost his head: he summoned the two men and had their eyes plucked out; after having them blinded, they were dragged to death in the dust of the city streets (A.D. 1167).

This atrocity stunned the followers of Basava, caused wide commotion in the capital, and raised a storm of protest. Vīraśaivas were convinced that this act of the king was most likely to be followed by similar or even more cruel acts. So long as Bijjaḷa was alive, neither they nor their religion would be safe. The extremists among them, headed by Jagadēva and his friends, pleaded for revenge, whereas the milder elements counselled peace and forbearance. Basava, it is reported, was committed to non-violence, and did not favour the move to punish Bijjaḷa with death. However, he lost control over the movement; the extremist section had won.

According to other version, Basava himself reminded Jagadēva of his oath and Jagadēva gladly agreed to put an end to the king's life. Having entrusted this mission to him, Basava and his followers left Kalayāṇa

Jagadēva came home; but his mother refused to serve him food. She said that as long as the oath he had taken remained unfulfilled she would treat him like a dog. Molle and Bomma, two friends of Jagadēva, joined him. It was evening and Bijjaḷa was sitting in his brightly lit hall of audience when Jagadēva and his aides rushed into the court-hall, pounced upon Bijjaḷa and murdered him (A.D. 1167). Immediately after that, Jagadeva severed his own head and died, while the other two were probably caught and later put to death.

In the wake of this catastrophy, violence and chaos overtoo the city. Bijjaḷa's kinsmen and troops chased Basava's followers, and the Vīraśaivas, unable to withstand the onslaught, left Kalyāṇa and scattered in different directions.

In the meanwhile, Basava with his group reached Kūḍala Sangama. His mind was perturbed and he wanted peace. He survived Bijjaḷa only for a very short perior of time, breathing his last in December A.D. 1167 or early next year. As Machayya put it, he 'was covered with the Light (beḷagu) and became Void (bayalu).'

The short-lived Kalachurya empire came to an end soon, too. Bijjaḷa's son Murāri succeeded his father, but he had to face opposition from the followers of Basava whom he prosecuted, and from those who were adherents of the deposed Chalukya kings. He did not rule long; his four brothers came to the throne in quick succession. Taila III whom Bijjaḷa had ousted had a son who built an army and in A.D. 1184 was able to get back his father's kingdom.

Basava had left behind him a band of dedicated followers, and great new ideas. In addition to his unique achievement of creating a community based on the rejection of inequality of every kind, of ritualism and taboos, a society which exalted work in the world in the name of Lord Śiva, Basavaṇṇa has composed more than a thousand impassioned, striking, original poems in Kannaḍa free verse which are alive until this day, representing the wisdom and literature of the people of Karnāṭaka.

14
Bhairava

Rudra had prepared the seed for the Father, Rudra shot the Father while he, the Lord of Generation, Prajāpati, was spending his seed into creation. Creation is a destructive activity. It violates the integrity of the indefinable absolute, making manifest and disseminating its contents.

Rudra, the avenger of the primordial act of the Father, was born in another aeon from the seed of Prajāpati. To assuage the memory of the primordial scene that troubled his newborn son, Prajāpati invested Rudra with the cosmos.

In yet another aeon, Rudra was born from the head of Brahmā. The Father, Prajāpati, and Brahmā are successive names of the Creator per generationem. Rudra, who had prepared the seed for the Father, carried within himself the fire seed of life. Born as a mental son of Brahmā and being Consciousness itself, the Greator God and Lord of Yoga acted out fully his role as avenger. He served his liṅga from his body. He cut off the head of Brahmā.

When Prajāpati and his daughter consorted as antelopes, Prajāpati was pierced by the arrow of Rudra; he bounded to the sky and became the constellatin Mṛga, the antelope (A.B. 3.33; *cf.* SB. 1.7.4.1-3); or Prajāpati, pierced by the arrow, abandoned his body, and became the constellation Mṛgaśiras (SB. 2.1.2.9). Mṛgaśiras, the antelope's head, is the head of Prajāpati (SB. 2.1.2.8), though this constellation may also represent the abandoned body of Prajāpati (SB. 2.1.2.9). In the sky among the stars, Prajāpati, struck by the arrow, fell to the ground (SKP. 3.1.40.12). As Prajāpati, pierced, abandoned his body (ŚB. 2.1.2.9), a great light arose from it, went to the sky , and became the star Mṛgaśiras (SkP. 3.1.40.3). Mahādeva, that ocean and treasury of compassion (SKP. 3.1.40.26, 35), who had severed the head of the Creator of the world (SKP. 3.1.40.30), revived Prajāpati-Brahmā and placed four heads of his body. They were those of Nandin, the leader of Śiva's host, and of others of his gaṇas. Having lost his one head and received four, four-headed Brahmā praised Śiva. Henceforward, according to this version of the myth, Brahmā had four heads (SKP. 3.1.40-39-40). The head of the antelope had become a separate reality. To this day it looks down from the sky. Brahmā, however, acquired his four heads in more than one way.

The four heads of Brahmā faced the four directions. The four directions constitute the extent of the manifest world; the four orients refer to the movement of the sun. They indicate the cosmos under the rule of time. Four being the comprehensive number of the total manifestation, is also the number of revelation—completely made Word in the four *Vedas*. Brahmā, the Creator, was fittingly given four heads. It did not matter on whose shoulders each had formerly sat; their number *was* all that mattered, for it showed the comprehensiveness of Brahmā being.

Even so, this number of heads proved to the insufficient when Brahmā had to cope with the appearance of a lovely girl, dark, slender, and with beautiful eyes (*cf.*, VmP, SM. 28.4-5. 20). She appeared from one half of his body (Ch. VIII.3) as he invoked Sāvitrī, the most sacred *mantra*, the essence of the *Vedas*, whose other name is Gāyatrī (MP. 3.30-32). Sāvitrī manifested in response to Brahmā's dissatisfaction with his creation of mind-born sons and as he was conceiving a new plan for the creation of living beings. She was one of Śatarūpā's hundred forms (MP. 3.31). Brahmā first thought she was his daughter, and he desired her. He could not take his eyes off Sāvitrī, and did not want to turn his head. Instead, by his own will be grew four heads in the four directions in order to see her while she walked arund him. Śatarūpā, embarrassed, moved heavenward (MP. 3.32-40; *cf.* Ch. VIII.3).

The self-acquired four heads of Brahmā resulted from his lusting after his daughter. In them he set forth into the world in the four directions his hitherto undivided self. The heads had sprouted from his desire for something no longer within himself. It was Gāyatrī, the goddess who had appeared frm his own half. True to the ancient pattern, she was his daughter. Being his daughter she carried within her the knowledge of her celestial origin.

Her ascension provoked the appearance of one more, the fifth, the quintessential head on top of the four. Brahmā covered it with his long, matter hair. Its abundance showed his virile power; its uncared for tangled look gave him the appearance of a yogi. Nevertheless, due to his desire for congress with his daughter, Brahmā lost all the power accumulated by his austerities (*tapas*) that he needed for the creation of the universe (MP. 3.39-40).

Brahmā desire for his daughter was aroused by her beauty, but it was caused by Kāma, who was born just then as Brahmā mental son (ŚP. 2.2.2.23, 35-36). Kāma was born to madden and delude people, and for this purpose Brahmā gave him magic arrows. Kāma immediately tested them and pierced Brahmā. They had the desired effect. Seen in this amorous state by his other mind-sons, the ascetics, Brahmā was ashamed (MP. 4.11). He became angry with Kāma and cursed him. The curse of the Creator meant death to Kāma, and implicated Śiva in this fatality. Brahmā cursed Kāma that he would be reduced to ashes when he made Śiva his target. Kāma cried out in anguish that Brahmā had created him to captivate the minds and arouse live in whomever his arrows hit, and that he had carried out Brahmā instruction. Then Brahmā promised him that he would become incarnate again. Kāma, sad on account of the curse but relieved by its modification, departed (MP. 4.11-21).

Brahmā in his curse of Kāma meant to avenge his own passion on Śiva, exposing him to the same predicament that had befallen his own person. Primordially, when Prajāpati had become a victim of Rudra's arrow, he made Rudra Lord of Animals, and Paśupati, the lord of creatures, spared the life of Prajāpati. Now, however, Brahmā had been victimized, not by Rudra but by Kāma, desire, which had seized the Creator at the very beginning of creation. Though Brahmā cursed Kāma, the Creator revenged himself on Rudra/Śiva. Like Brahmā, Śiva would become a victim of Kāma and his victory would be the death of Kāma and his resurrection.

Exhausted by his curse of Kāma and by his own shame, Brahmā abandoned his body. His daughter, seeing her father dead, killed herself, but both were revived by Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu then gave her in marriage to Kāma and named her Rati, the goddess Lust (BVP. 4.35.38-73, 101). Śatarūpā, of a hundred forms, Brahmā's daughter, when she died in loyalty to her father, was called Sandhyā, Twilight (SP .2.2.5.7-10; 2.2.7.1-5). Long ago, when creation began, she had been Uṣas, the first Dawn of a nascent cosmos. At that time Prajāpati was pierced by the arrow of Rudra. Now he was a victim of Kāma's arrow and he left his body in shame. According to the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Sandhyā killed herself and became the goddess of Lust, Rati, the wife of Kāma (BVP. 4.35.71-73, 101). But this was not her only fate. Her other fate was to become Arundhati, the embodiment of conjugal chastity (SP. 2.2.5.8). Just as a god or goddess may be born more than once, each may have more than one fate and live it out in more than one shape.

The number of Brahmā's heads and the manner in which they came to be convey metaphysical and lesser problems. Together with the inherent significance of the numbers one, four, and five, the existence or acquisition of the respective number of heads of the loss of one of them—be it the first and only one or the fifth and last—form an intricate pattern. The light thrown on it by several versions of the myth moves around a central sensitive knot in which the identities of Śiva and Brahmā are tied up. The pattern of the threads, seen in this uncertain light, appears positive from one angle, negative from another, but out of seeming contradictions the heads sit or fall in the appointed place.

Thus, it was Śiva who gave Brahmā his four heads in compensation for the one he had caused to be severed. Or Brahmā himself sprouted all his five heads. Prajāpati had been felled by Rudra-Śiva, because he had emitted into creation some of the substance of the Uncreate. It fell into creation as its seed. Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation, was lustful and incontinent. Rudra avenged the violation of the wholeness of the Uncreate. The incontinence of the progenitive act of Prajāpati was his target. The head that had allowed it was severed and transferred up to the sky, to the stars. Śiva, the Great God, full of compassion, compensated the severance of the one and only head of the Head of the World by placing four heads on Brahmā's shoulder. In renewed wholeness, Brahmā's eyes now beheld the whole world and he carried the sum of all knowledge, the fourfold *Veda*, within him and held it in his hand in the shape of a book, as his images show. Thus, Brahmā, the Creator, got four heads. *He got* them by the grace of Śiva.

Others, however, know that Brahmā the lotus-born (BhP. 3.8. 16), Brahmā the egg-born (PP. 5.14.88 MP. 2.35-36), had four heads from the beginning (BhP. 3.8.16). The myth

of Brahmā, the Creator, belongs to an aeon long after the one head of Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation, had found its place in the sky. One the other hand, Brahmā got himself his five heads. One by one, they appeared on his neck for the same reason for which Prajāpati one and only head had been severed from body. The intercourse of Prajāpati with his daughter and the desire of Brahmā for his daughter are symbols through which was acted out the primordial violation of the Uncreate by the Creator.

Uṣas, first Dawn of the World, having been the partner in the traumatic, primeval scene, marked the transition into creation. Though in union with the Father, she had not been the target of Rudra's arrow. As Sandhyā. Twilight, a kind glance from Śiva's eye freed her from all shortcomings and, delighted with her asceticism, Śiva told Sandhyā that she had become pure (SP. 2.2.3.59; 2.2.6. 30-40).

Sandhyā was reborn from the sweat of Dakṣa as Rati, Lust, his daughter (SP. 2.2.3.51-59); or she entered the sacrificial fire, where, at the end of the sacrifice, sage Medhātithi found her as his daughter in the sacrificial pit (SP. 2.2.7.1-5, 14). Uṣas, cosmic Dawn, in mythical transformation, descended to being Sandhyā, the twilight of each ritual day and, after her voluntary death, was reborn as lust or as conjugal fidelity, the one considered to be the opposite of the other.

Brahmā did not retain his fifth head or long. It had arisen above the four heads as Brahmā sought not to lose sight of his daughter in her flight from his earth. The fifth head looked heavenward. It differed from the other four heads by its position, above their level.

In this respect, the fifth head of Brahmā resembled Īśāna, the head of Śiva. Śiva, being Mantramūrti, necessarily had five heads. His *mantra, Namaḥ Śivāya,* is of five syllables; his fivefold evocation in the *Taitiriya Āraṇyaka* and its form as the liṅga of five faces showed the pentad to be Śiva's comprehensive numerical symbol. Of the five faces of Śiva, that of Īsāna, the Lord, towered above the others; it represented a higher plane in the total reality of the god.

Brahmā had four heads and fifth was supernumerary, excessive, the outgrowth of Brahmā's surpassing desire for his daughter, who took flight heavenward. Uṣas had run away from the Father, *post factum,* to the south, the region of perdition. It is also said that Brahmā grabbed his daughter in order to cohabit with her. Before she vanished she told Brahmā that five faces were not becoming to him; four faces, full of *Veda,* would be proper (BhvP. 3.4.13.1-5).

With his five heads, Brahmā numerically rivaled Śiva, whose fivefold being was conveyed *from* ancient times *by* his five *mantras.* The exalted position of the fifth head of Śiva had a pejorative counterpart in Brahmā's fifth head. Position and number of the heads of the two gods were deceptively similar, but Brahmā's fifth head negated all that Śiva's fifth head meant. The elevated position of Brahmā's fifth head singled it out for an assault by Śiva. It was a reenactment of Rudra's primeval onslaught on the Father. The target, however, was not in the region of sex. It had moved up to the head. The attack did not come from a Wild Hunter, his name unuttered because of fear. The attack came from Śiva, born from Brahmā's head. Brahmā as father of mind-born ons seems to have had not more than one head, the birth-giving head.

Brahmā, it would appear, enjoyed the manner in which he had acquired his five heads, that is, by looking at the beauty of his daughter while she reverentially circumambulated him, for, on another occasion, he created the celestial maiden Tilottamā, of unrivaled beauty. As her name implies, she was made of minutest particles of jewels. Tilottamā walked around the assembly of the gods. When she came near Śiva and was at his side, another face of Śiva appeared. When she was behind him another face of the god appeared, and as she walked on, a fourth face. Śiva manifested his sovereignty of the universe with the face looking toward the east. With the face turned to the north he sported with the Great Goddess. With the face toward the west he showed himself as the ordainer of the happiness of creatures, and with the southern face he showed himself as their destroyer (MBh. 13.128.1-6). He revealed himself to Tilottamā, the lovely temptress, as the Five *Brahmans,* though she could not see his fifth, invisible face.

The archetype of all the many heads, eyes, and limbs of the Great God is Supernal Man, the Puruṣa, in whose likeness Rudra was born. The numbers, a hundred or a thousand, hint at the innumerable, whereas any number smaller than ten is not a cypher but a symbol, the number four standing primarily for the directions of space, the number five, in the context, being the quintessential number of the center raised above the four other heads. In Brahmā's case, the fifth, supererogatory head was evil; in the episode of Tilottamā, Brahmā created a situation similar or that in which he had found himself when Sāvitrī appeared before him. In the assembly of the gods, Brahmā seemed to mean to ensnare Śiva in a situation parallel to the one that had produced his own fifth head, but Śiva put out only four heads. Brahmā thought of humbling Śiva by inducing him toward the production of several, but he had not exceeded four visible heads, whereas Brahmā had achieved five heads in his amorous pursuit. Brahmā retailed for having been in a position where he compulsively copied the pentad of Śiva's head by bringing about a similar situation; but Śiva did not produce more than four heads—the number, as Sāvitrī, his daughter, had said, that was becoming to Brahmā.

Brahmā's fifth head, an outgrowth of uncontrolled desire, seen against the fifth, invisible head of Śiva, that of Īśāna, dwelling in transcendency, amounted to a sacrilege.

According to another point of view, the five heads were given to Brahmā long ago by Śiva as a special sign (SP. 1.8.7), in a rite, as it were, of initiation to invest Brahmā with the power to create. Śiva with five faces spoke the five syllables—*Namaḥ Śivāya*—with his five mouths of Brahmā. Brahmā grasped them with his five faces or mouths (LP. 1.85.13-14).

In a complete reversal of positions, the five heads of Śiva are said to have appeared during an argument between Śiva and Brahmā. Śiva stared at Brahmā's fifth face when five-faced Brahmā emerged from the cosmic ocean. After an angry exchange between the two gods, the five faces of Śiva manifested (VmP. 2.23-34; cf. Ch. IX n. 1).

The reciprocal relation of Śiva's and Brahmā's five heads is even more involved, but also resolved in other myths. When Brahmā was unable to create and asked Śiva to be his son, Śiva said he wuld cut off Brahmā's head. Śiva was born from Brahmā's head, from the mouth breath, or forehead of Brahmā. Brahmā, having created five-headed Śiva,

became overweening; his fifth head generated heated energy, it shone brighter than the sun, it outshone the splendor of the gods and incapacitated them. Śiva cut off the fifth head and kept it in his hand to prevent it from burning the earth and drying up the ocean (BrP. 113.1-18; cf. SkP. 5.1.2.7-26; *cf.* PP. 5.14/92-115). The severed head of Brahmā, held in Śiva's hand, was to cling to it. *Th*e head became a skull and served Śiva as his begging bowl (*cf.* Ch. IX.2). Or Brahmaśiras, the head of Brahmā, retained its formidable energy and became the Pāśupata weapon, which Śiva gave to Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava hero and son of Indra (MBh. 3.41.7-8, 13).

Arjuna had subjected himself to ascetic austerities when, to obtain a sight of Śiva, he went into the Himālayan wilderness (MBh. 3,39.10-12). There the Pāṇḍava hero encounter a wild hunter, a Kirāta, of powerful build. At that moment a boar was abo*ut* to attack Arjuna. Though the boar was struck down simultaneously by the arrows of Arjuna and of the Kirāta, Arjuna and the Kirāta began to fight as to who had first aimed at the aimed at the boar. The Kirāta proved to be invulnerable and got gold of Arjuna's bow Gāṇḍiva (MBh. 3.40. 1-25, 39).

Pleased with Arjuna's courage in battle, Śiva revealed himself to Arjuna. Arjuna prostrated himself before Śiva, the Wild Hunter. Smilingly, Śiva holding Arjuna's hands, pardoned him (MBh. 3.40.52-61). Śiva granted his request for the Brahmaśiras weapon. Thus, Śiva gave to Arjuna the Pāśupata weapon, which can be hurled by the mind, by the eye, by words, and by the bow (MBh. 3.41.13-16). The Kirāta also returned the Gāṇḍiva bow to Arjuna (MBh. 3.41.25). Brahmaśiras, "the head of Brahmā" had become a most powerful weapon, the Pāśupata weapon, which was no other than the Pāśupata Vrata (cf. AUp. 67), the vow by which alone *kaivalya*, liberation from the fetters of existence, can be obtained (commentary on AUp. 67).

Rudra/Śiva, the Wild Hunter from the beginning of things, whom Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation, had made Pāśupa*ti*, Lord of Animals, lord of creatures, took the shape of a Kiarāta. As a Kirāta, a tribal huntsman without caste, he imparted to Arjuna, the warrior, the infallible weapon of the Pāsupata vow by his gift of the Brahmaśiras, the magical power inherent in Brahmā's severed head.

Śiva, the Wild Hunter, the Kirāta, had a following of women, thousands of Kirāta women (MBh. 3.40.17). In another shape, that of Bhikṣāṭana, the Supreme Beggar, Śiva had enlightened the sages in their forest hermitage. There, the women of the ṛṣis followed him, entranced by the mysterious beggar.

The bacchantic women who followed Bhikṣāṭana/Bhairava the Kirāta amazons were groups of enthusiasts, ecstatics, and jungle dwellers who recognized Lord Śiva; they were drawn to him, followed and praised him, even though their men, the sages in the Deodar forest, were averse to him.

In another hermitage, the wife of sage Atri, for example, unwilling to live in subjection to her husband, left him and sought the protection of Lord Śiva, subjecting herself to great austerities (MBh 13.14.65-66). Yet another woman, the mother of Upamanyu, blessed with the knowledge of Śiva, lived as an ascetic in the wilderness. Once her son asked her to cook some disk with milk, for he had tasted milk on his visit to another

hermitage. She had none to cook, for, living in the woods, roots and fruits were her only food, and asceticism together with the recitation of sacred *mantras* were the daily practices of the recluses. Having no sweet milk to give to her son, the mother of Ṛṣi Upamanyu told him about Śiva, the giver of everything (MBh. 13.14.75-84). The mother of Upamanyu praised Mahādeva, the Great God who is incomprehensible to ordinary, unenlightened man, thought he resides in the hearts of all creatures. Many are the forms of his grace (MBh. 13, app. 1, No. 4, lines 11-18).

The laud of Mahādeva by the mother of Upamanyu was imbued with the knowledge and fervor of the *Śatarudriya* hymn. She added to the "hundred" forms of Rudra, hailed in that paean, those of the Kirāta and the Śabara, representatives of the wild tribes of the jungle; she added the shapes of tortoise, fish, conch, and snake; the demonic and ghoulish form of Preta, Piśāca, Rākṣasa; of lizard, leopard, crow, and peacock, of many other beasts, birds, and of every man. She saw the Great God girt with snakes; his earnings, girdle; and sacred thread made of snakes. She saw him wearing an elephant skin but also perfectly naked, fair complexioned, dark complexioned, pale, ruddy, white with ashes smeared all over his body, and the crescent moon shining from his forehead. She saw him dance and wander over cremation grounds, and she saw him sport with the daughters and wives of the ṛṣis. She heard him sing and play on many instruments; she heard him laugh, cry, and make others cry, or he appeared to her like a madman. She knew him as the very breath of life, its principle (*jīva*); the knew him as the conscious mind and its transcendence, yoga itself, Maheśvara, the Great Lord, the destroyed of all creatures and on whom all creatures rest (MBh. 13, app. 1, No. 4, lines 27-77).

The mother of Upamanyu, unable to give her son the milk that nourished ther ṛṣis living closer to village and pasture than her retreat in the mountain forest, saw the Wild God as a Kirāta. As a Kirāta, a wild hunter, the Great God gave to Arjuna his missile, the Brahmaśiras, the "Head of Brahmā", that is, the Pāśupata weapon or Pāśupata vow. It was a powerful weapon. Its magic worked in many ways, for its could be aimed by the mind, by the eye, by words, and by the bow. But before the Brahmaśiras weapon, the head of Brahmā, could become effective, Śiva had to sever the head of Brahmā, his fifth head. In the myth of the Kirāta, Arjuna received the Brahmaśiras weapon from the hand of Śiva. In the myth of Bhairava, the head of Brahmā clung to the hand of Śiva. It became a skull (*kapāla*), the begging bowl of Śiva as Bhikṣāṭana.

The Severed Head: The Cause of its Fall

The fifth head of Brahmā had *to fall*, for more than one reason. The *Skānda Purāna* remembers the one fundamental, primodial caise. It says that formerly, in the very beginning of the Kṛta Yuga, *the golden age*, Brahmā was enamored of his youthful daughter and was about to cohabit with her. Seeing this, Śiva cut off with a sword the fifth head of Brahmā (SkP. 2.3.2.3-4; *cf.* 3.1.40. 5-16). The primal scene, at the beginning of days, is staged here in the costume of a later age, when the figure of the Father Prajāpati had acquired the features of Brahmā, including the fifth head, the physiognomical projection skyward of his lust that had gone to his head. Rudra, in this setting, did not direct his

arrow towards the sex of Prajāpati. Instead, he wielded a sword by which he cut off the obnoxious head. But for the change in costume and iconography, the primordial scene has remained intact.

According to other accounts, the site of the decapation of Brahmā was not the stark vastness of a nascent world but the sublime peak of Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain (KūP. 2.31.3). There, the great sages asked Brahmā which god was the imperishable supreme reality. Deluded by Śiva's māyā, *Brahmā* declared himself as the supreme reality (KūP. 2.31.4-6). Viṣṇu made the same claim for himself (KūP. 2.31.*8-10). The* Vedas declared Śiva to be the ultimate reality *in w*hom all beings reside, the highest reality that the yogis know, the Great Lord who makes the wheel of existence revolve, Śaṅkara, the bringer of peace, Mahādeva, the Great God, Puruṣa, the primal being, Rudra (KūP. 2.31.13-16). Hearing these words, Brahmā in his delusion laughed and asked: "How is it that the Supreme Spirit, the Brahman, free of all attachment, lustily sports with his wife and the very haughty Pramathas, the churn-spirits ?" (KūP. 2.31.17-18); cf. ŚP. 3.8.31-32; SkP. 3.1.24.16).

Brahmā, in this contest of supremacy, assumed an aggressive stance against Śiva, who was not present in the assembly of the gods and sages on the peak of Mount Meru. It was under the spell of the māyā of Lord Śiva that the two demiurges acted as they did. Brahmā inveighed against Śiva for the same reason that—in the opinion of some of the gods—Rudra had attacked Prajāpati in the primordial scene. The intercourse of Prajāpati and his daughter, however, had been a signal only that the wholeness of the absolute was being ruptured by the flow of its substance into creation. Subsequently, the meaning of the symbol sank into, and was submerged in its sexual impact. It rose to Brahmā's uneasy and deluded mind when he attacked Śiva, the Great Yogi, apparently in the thrall of lust and thus disqualified from being supreme reality, free from all attachment.

The final word in the assembly of gods and sages was spoken by a formless one that had taken on a form, the sound AUM, the primordial sound, the praṇava, the source of all mantras (KūP. 2.31.19). Praṇava said, "Never does the Great Lord Rudra-Śiva take delight in any wife who would be separate from his own self. The glorious Lord is self-luminous, eternal. His delight in himself is called Devī, the goddess. Śivā is not outside Śiva" (KūP. 2.31.20-21*; cf.* ŚP. 3.8.34-35; *cf.* SkP. 3.1.24.18-19). He is that ascetic who by his very nature, is "always in close uni*on with* the goddess" (KūP. 2.31.47).

Pra*jā*pati had cohabited with his daughter. She was his self-begotten duality. Śiva held within him the goddess*, h*is state of bliss. In this way he was one with her, in self-contained fulfilment of deity. Its incandescence dissolved their lineaments. The alternative of the Lord and Goddess within him had manifested as Ardhanārīśvara, the right and left, male and female in equal parts within the Lord.

Praṇava, pure sound, etheral vibration in which the cosmos chants itself, if it reached Brahmā's ear, failed to convey its message *to* him, deluded as he was by Śiva's inscrutable māyā (KūP. 2.31.22). At this impasse a celestial light irradiated the firmament, a shining or b (KūP. 2.31.23-24; SkP. 3.1.24.*28-30)*, or a mass of flames from heaven to earth

(SP. 3.8.37), or was it Puruṣa, carrying a trident ? The crescent *moon* was his head ornament, a third eye shone in his forehead, and he was wreathed in serpents (ŚP. 3.8.37-41). Brahmā's fifth head looked up and burned with rage, and he saw Nīla-Lohita (KūP. 2.31.26). The fifth head of Brahmā burned with anger (SP. 3.8.39). Having created this fifth head, Brahmā spoke to the Supreme Lord; "O Great God, I know you. In the past you sprang from my forehead. You were my son named Rudra. Come to me. I will protect you" (KūP. 2.31.28; ŚP. 3.8.42-43; SkP. 3.1.24.31-34; cf. MP. 183.84-86). As Maheśvara, the Lord heard these arrogant words, he sent forth Kālabhairava (KūP. 2.31.29; SkP. 3.1.24.35) of dread appearance, Kālarāja, the lord of time of whom even time is afraid.

There are no words for the fearfulness of Bhairava, for his terror. Bhairava is the complete form of Śiva. Fools, deluded by Śiva's māyā, do not know him (ŚP. 3.8.2). Bhairava, the Kālapuruṣa, Time who controls time, who controls everything (KūP. 2.31.29.45), cut off that head with the nail of his left thumb (VrP. 97.6-7), or with the tips of the nails of the fingers of his left hand (SP. 3.8.52), or simply cut it off after a great battle (KūP. 2.31.30).

The severed head became attached to Rudra's hand (VrP. 97.7). Its skull did not leave the palm of Bhairava's left hand.

Bhairava is Śiva at his most fearful. He is Śiva entire, whether spoken of as emanated from Śiva, or, seen on the highest level of Śiva, as Mahādeva Kālabhairava, the Great God Kālabhairava. It was the same left hand that severed the head to which clung the skull of Brahmā. According to the Kūrma Purāṇa, Śiva acted out his being, facing himself in multiple unity. Mahādeva, the Great God, enjoined Nūla-Lohita, *who stood in front* of him, to carry the skull as his begging bowl, and collect alms for the expiation of the sin that he had committed. The Great Lord said to Kālāgni, who is Time, the devouring Fire, and who became Bhairava, "Roam constantly begging alms." Mahādeva Kālabairava of dark countenance and beauty then wandered through the word (KūP. 2.31.61-73). Much as he wanted to be freed from it, the skull remained in his hand while he expiated his sin (ŚP. 3.8. 61-62).

The unnamed god whose arrow struck the Father in his organ of sex and Śiva-Bhairava, who cut off Brahmā's fifth head, are one in essence.

Brahmā's fifth head taunted Lord Śiva manifesting in glory; it belittled the Great God for having been born as Brahmā's son and offered paternal protection to Mahādeva. Śiva, however, had anticipated the animadversion of Brahmā. At the time when Brahmā had desired Śiva to be born as his son so that Brahmā could create living beings, Śiva had assured Brahmā that he would cut off the overbearing fifth head of Brahmā (SkP. 5.1.2.20-21).

The fifth head of Brahmā was that of a horse (BhvP. 1.22.13-16). The horse's head is known to crown Viṣṇu: he is called Hayamukha, "horse-faced one" (MBh. 1.20, note 10, 299, line 2), but a similar form, Hayagrīva, is the name of a demon killed by Viṣṇu (MBh. 5.128.49). The ambiguity of the horse's head stems from the sun, vivifying and also scorching, of which the horse is a symbol. Thus, also, the horse's head holds and gives away secret knowledge (RV. 1.116.12; 1.117.22; 1.119.9). The fifth head of Brahmā recited

indiscretely, though prognostically, the *Ātharvaṇa mantra,* " 'O Kapālin', 'Skull-bearer', O Rudra,...protect the world..." as Rudra, just born, sat on the shoulder to his *father (VrP.* 97.3-5).

The fifth head of Brahmā, self-acquired by his lust or arrogance, had to fall because of its foreknowledge and *indis*cretion in having invoked and provoked the newborn god as Kapālin, a title he was to earn once he had cut off Brahmā's head, and the head had turned into a skull clinging to his hand as he went begging with this bowl that had held Brahmā's most compelling drive and ambition. Hearing the words of the *mantra,* "O Skull-bearer, O Rudra..." from Brahmā's mouth, Rudra Nila-Lohita, Bhairava, cut off the fifth head of Brahmā with the nail of his left thumb (VrP. 97.5-7).

Misgivings based on their father-son relationship prompted Brahmā's fifth head to a fatal indiscretion. If the fifth head gave away its foreknowledge in order to infuriate Śiva, it did do worse when, according to another version of the myth, it lied. This took place on the battlefield when Brahmā and Viṣṇu fought, not with words but with their weapons, so as to prove the victor's sovereignty, his ultimate reality. Śiva, seeing that the flaming weapons of the fighting demiurges were about to burn the world, appeared on the battlefield as a huge column of fire. The gods, wondering what this blazing pillar was, attempted to fathom its extent, as they had done when the flaming pillar arose from the flood of a cosmic night. They failed to reach either bottom or tap, but Brahmā, on his return from on high, where he had flown in the shape of a wild gander, lied to Viṣṇu that he had seen the top of the pillar. What he had seen was a Ketaki flower that had floated down from high above when Śiva's head had shaken with laughter on seeing the fight of Brahmā and Viṣṇu. But when Viṣṇu bowed to Brahmā, believing that Brahmā had seen the top of the flaming pillar, Śiva manifested to punish Brahmā (SP. 1.7.4-29). He created Bhairava from the middle of his forehead to chastise Brahmā (SP. 1.8.1).

In this myth, Mahadeva, the Great God, bid Bhairava to worship Brahmā with his sharp, quick sword. Bairava caught hold of the hair of Brahmā's fifth head, which was arrogant and had lied; he raised his sword to strike (Sp. 1.8.3-4), and cut off Brahmā's fifth head ŚP. 3.8.52). The radical punishment of Brahmā on ethical grounds, because the creator had lied; though it was meted out in a cos*m*ic setting, obfuscated the metaphysical significance of Śiva's parricide of Brahmā, the Creator. To strengthen the argument on ethical ground, not only did Brahmā himself lie, but he also made the Ketaki flower give false evidence by saying that it was the witness to the truth of Brahmā's assertion that he top of the liṅga (SP. 1.7.24-25). In another version of the myth, Brahmā resolved to say that he had seen the end. He sprouted a fifth h*ead in* the form of a she-ass, to speak the lie that his other four faces could not (BrP. 135.1-21).

The lie of Brahmā was a more ethically justifiable reason for his beheading than was the self-glory of the fif*th* head that, according to yet another version, made it outshine the radiance of all the there gods. For this overweaning brightnees of the fifth head, Rudra, according to the Padma Purāṇa, cut off the head with the nail of his left thumb (PP. 5.14.112-13). The Skānda Purāṇa amplifies this account. *The fifth head* of Brahmā, elated with pride, produced such fiery heat (tejas) that it d*estroyed the fire* of gods and demons.

They sought refuge with Śiva who, on their behalf, went to Brahmā. Brahmā—*now* overwhelmed by darkness—did not recognise Śiva, who laughed aloud. Brahmā, stupefied by Śiva's laughter and confused by his *tajas*, lost his head to the nail of Śiva's left thumb. Brahmā was so confused by the hot intensity (*tejas*) of Rudra that he did *not know* that his head had stuck to Rudra's hand. Stuck with the skull, Śiva danced (SkP. 5.1.2.33-69).

So shattering was the truth of Śiva beheading the Creator that it had to be embelished, and was told on levels easier of access than that of the primordial scene. In one such story the two essential motifs, the desire of the Creator for his daughter and the severing of his head by Śiva, are linked casually. Sarasvatī was furious when Brahmā made amorous insinuations, and she cursed the mouth that had spoken inappropriately. In the future, Brahmā's fifth head would always speak objectionably and bray like a donkey. Then, one day, Śiva and Pārvatī came to see Brahmā. While the four heads of Brahmā welcomed Śiva worshipfully, the fifth mouth made some disagreeable sound. Śiva annoyed with the evil fifth head, cut it off. It remained stuck to his hand during his wanderings all over the earth, though Śiva could have burned it (SP, JS. 49. 65-80).

The skull of the fifth, quintessential head of Brahmā, in which his lust and pride had reached their peak, had *to* fall. Śiva felled the head of Brahmā with the same inevitability that had directed the arrow of Rudra against the Father, Prajāpati. Brahmā's verbal provocation by overstating his paternal status, the rasping sound of his voice, and the telling of a lie at a crucial moment were by expressions of irritation that stemmed from a deep-seated cause.

The head of Brahmā had to fall. It was severed by Śiva, who for this purpose sent forth from himself Bhairava, his own other form (SP. 3.8.60). Bhairava is the total, complete Śiva(ŚP. 3.8.2). The nail of his left thumb sufficed for nipping off Brahmā's head (ŚP. 3.8.52; SkP. 5.1.2.65; MP. 183.86). Bhairava looked so fierce that even Kāla, who is Time and Death, was afraid of him; hence he is Kālabhairava. Bhairava also was Kālarāja, lord of time and death. Terror emanated from Bhairava (ŚP. 3.8.46-47). Tormented by fear, those who beheld him saw in him the source of their own fear. In the fulness of their fear they saw the embodiment of fear. Thus, his name describes the effect that he created in the frightened eyes of the beholder, dilated by fear, as those of the god were dilated by devastating fury. The word Bhairava is derived from *bhīru*, which means timid, fearful, in the sense of feeling fear. Bhairava is an appellation by inversion, placing effect into cause. While the name of Rudra, unspeakable in its horror, was not to be pronounced, Bhairava's name did not denote the identity of the god, but intensified his frightfulness.

Bhairava in particular is Śiva, as Śarva was Rudra. The fierce hunter had changed his shape and mode of attack. He allowed no distance between himself-and his victim. Their contact was close, one sharp touch by the hand of the god was final, neither time nor space intervened.

Śiva become Kapālin. The skull of Brahmā stuck to Bhairava's hand. The sin of brahminicide did not leave him. Like any murderer of a brahmin, Śiva/Bhairava had to expiate this greatest of all sins, though he was God. By making himself a sinner he became

"the divine archetype of the Kāpālika ascetic." The Kāpālika, "symbolizes the perfected yogin precisely because on a mundane level he is the most debased of ascetics." It was not for the first that Rudra/Śiva abased himself (Ch. III. 2.b).

Time, Death and Timelessness: Kāla and Mahākāla

Time was deeply entrenched in the myth of Śiva. In the primordial scene, as an invisible actor, time had played a decisive and ambiguous role. It placed itself between the intent of Rudra and the actuality of his shot. The actor was not only invisible but also had no name. We call him Time. Had Rudra's arrow his its target as soon as the Wild Archer saw the mating couple, no seed would have been spilled, and no substance would have flowed from the Uncreate into creation. By intervening at the moment of Rudra's intent to halt the couple, at the moment when Rudra acted out his role as the guardian of the absolute and avenger of its infringement, Time entered the scene. Time had come into existence with the first movement of Rudra. Even before that, in the spontaneity of his being, Rudra was the carrier of the seed for the Father, in the limbo between the Uncreate and the creation of life. While Time obstructed the intent of Rudra and frustrated the immediate purpose of the attack on the Father by the Wild God, he was only seemingly Rudra's antagonist. His intervention was directed against Rudra, the avenger, and, at the same instant, undertaken for Rudra, the bearer of the seed.

Time reenacted the simultaneity of its twofold role on another occasion. Time intervened between Rudra's plunge into the water and his emergence from yogic absorption when under water. While Rudra had tarried, apparently to ready himself for the work of creation/procreation, Dakṣa was at hand and accomplished the task for the Creator with which Rudra had originally been charged. In both scenes, the one at the dawn of creation, the other on the banks of and in the water of Rudra's immersion. Time, the invisible, acted with Rudra, while giving the appearance of defeating Rudra's immediate purpose.

In creation, Rudra, the Wild God, the fierce archer, threatened the life of man. His arrows brought death; they cut off man from life, as a gourd is cut off from its stalk (RV. 7.59.12), before it can ripen, before its time. The duration of life (*āyus*) the lived dimension of time, was in Rudra's hand. Time, the actor, invisibly present at the beginning of creation, insinuated itself into the life that Rudra had helped to bring about, so that it should ripen in the fullness of time, but Rudra had the power over life and time. He culd shorten their span. The Wild God ruled over lived time (*āyus*).

Once, Rudra met Kāla, god Time (Ch. VII. 6), and recognised himself in him, looking out from his eyes, although Time had only four and lacked the fifth face of Śiva that is beyond time. But for this difference, god Kāla and Śiva could be mistaken for one another. The fifth face of Śiva, the Lord, Īśāna, is beyond time. Thus, Śiva is Time, Kāla, and he is beyond Time, Mahākāla. Inasmuch as he is Time, he has coalesced with time, his original antagonist, who from the beginning was within his ambience.

Time had invisibly entered the myth of Rudra at the beginning and presented his

credentials to the archer. They were the present, past, and future set by him along his arrow, the arrow of unilineal time. In creation Rudra directed his own arrow toward living creatures. If not averted, it would cut short the duration of the life of animate beings. Their lifetime would be shortened; Kāla, Time, would stop their last breath and the beating of their heart.

God Kāla is Time, the Ender (*antaka*). He is death to the living being and it is he who also ends the cosmos. He is the Destroyer of existence; he is the inal*ienabl*e counterpart of life. He is Rudra, the Great God whose form as Kāla carries the fact of death. The misery of dying was entrusted to the dark and beautiful young goddess Death (Ch. VI. 2). She had come out from all the pores of Brahmā, the Creator, who was intent on making a holocaust of his unmanageably proliferating, deathless creation. With tears in her eyes, she implored the Creator to let her desist from her appointed task. But this he would not grant to her. For all her tears and most severe austerities over millions of years, the young goddess had to acquiesce. She accepted the immutable fact of death. She accepted herself when cyclical time had come to be at the intervention of Śiva as Sthāṇu (MBh. 12.248-50).

Kāla, the Ender, is a form of Śarva, the archer. From without he approaches the beings and terminates their vital energies (*prāṇa*). But, inasmuch as Rudra is himself the vital breath (prāṇa), even as he had been the carrier of the vital seed, it is *he who* from within, as much as from without, constitutes the *life span*, the lived time of mortals. Within the living organism time moves rhythmoically. Breathing, pulsating, alternating like day and night, the vital breath is the micro-cosmic homology to cosmic time. The dance of Śiva begins within the inner rhythm of living beings, and thence embraces the cosmos. Its stage is set in many places, in the heart of man, in the heights where Śiva is at home in Himālayan groves, in temples, or wherever a site is favouirable, and also at the end of the world, before it is swallowed in the abyss of the cosmic flood.

Unilineal time, the time of the arrow and the archer, and the vibrant, palpitating rhythm within living beings are both Rudra's time, as the Vedas know it and the *Brahmaṇas*, Rudra, however, the Wild Archer, is also the lord of yogis and he is Sthāṇu, who discharged from his being the tumultuous Rudras (Ch. VI. 1). In the silence of his mind and body, time stood still. But when Brahmā, the Creator, was at a loss in his work of creating living beings, for their life went on and on because there was no stop to it (death as yet had not been created and the lifetime of his creatures stretched endlessly), Sthāṇu, compassionate and merciful, appeared on the scene of Brahmā's intended holocaust. He summoned triple time—past, present, future—and requested Brahmā to instill into its flux the quiescence of own being. Thus, periods of ongoing activity would alternate with periods of withdrawal, the business of living would subside and out of its pause life would begin again. In aeviternal rhythms the current of time would be channeled in the cosmos, reflecting not only the pulsation of life within the microcosm, but with it also the possibility of realization, in *samādhi*, of timelessness. Projected outward into the flux of time, *prāṇa* (the inner movement of life within the living being), and the state of withdrawal (holding the promise of at-one-ment wi*thin its* stilled mind and body), these two (the vital

breath and yogic stasis) would coalesce in a new order of time, carrying the assurance of an aeviternal return.

Straight, arrow-like time and the time of aeviternal return are Śiva's modalities of time within creation. By Sthāṇu's intervention Brahmā gave effect to the latter.

Before the arrival of Sathāṇu on the scene of the holocaust, Brahmā had lost his hold on time, for which, as Prajāpati, he had been the paradigm. The myth and rites of Prajāpati in his relation to time were recorded in the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa*. The human being as the sacrificer was implicated in the renewal of time by building up the fire altar, the *terrestrical homolgy* of the cycle of the year and of Prajāpati. By his participation in the piling up of the fire altar, by rites of architecture, the sacrificer recreated the body of Prajāpati, who had fallen down in the sheer exhaustion after having spent himself into creation. By architectural rites, man participated in the reconstruction of Prajāpati and, at the same time, effected his own regeneration.

Prajāpati created all living creatures, whereas Brahmā, injected with Rudra's asceticism, produced only mental progeny. "Having created all existing things, he Prajāpati felt like one emptied out, and was afraid of death" (SB. 10.4.2.2; 3.9.1, 1; TB. 1.2.6). Creating, Prajāpati had dispersed himself into the manifold universe. The breath of life left him, and the gods abandoned him; he asked Agni, the Fire, to restore him (ŚB. 6.1.2.12-13). Hence the gods built up Prajāpati and gave him the shape of the fire altar (ŚB. 6.1.2.14-18). Brick by brick they built him up in the fullness of a year, the time in which nature renews and spends itself. The building of the altar was a paradigmatic rite in which Prajāpati was recomposed symbolically by the piling up of a structure. As the gods had done first, so man, the sacrificer, was to build up the fire altar as the counterpart of Prajāpati (*cf.* ŚB. 1.1.1.8.3.). By doing this sacred work, the sacred work, the sacrificer consecrated himself magically, for he meted out the proportions of the altar according to his on measure. The fire altar thus became a work of identification, a homology by sacred, architectural rites, of man and the Creator. Reassembling the fallen, exhausted, dispersed Prajāpati by sacred knowledge and sacred work, the sacrificer restored the Creator to pristine totality, to last as long as time lasts in its cycles, of which the year is the unit. Prajāpati, who was weakened, is the year (SB. 6.1.2.18,19) and "the year...is the same as Death, for the Prajāpati, the year..., by means of day and night, destroys the life of mortal beings" (ŚB. 10.4.3.1). Day and night are taken here not in their cyclical renewal but in their succession along the arrow of time.

Prajāpati, the Lord of Generation, is the year. Exhausted from creation, he was afraid of death, which he carried in himself in the succession of days and nights. Time and death were immanent in the work of the creation, and in him inasmuch as he identified himself with his creation. Prajāpati was afraid of death, which he carried within him and into creation, for without death the year would have no from; not dying, it would have no end, no time to die in. Time pervaded the work of the Creator and himself at work. It held sway over him.

The visual figure of Prajāpati, the year, was a volmetric shape, an altar built of built of bricks and replete with the symbolic significance of each single brick. The year

with its seasons and, with it, death, as the Brāhmana of a Hundred Paths explicity states, was built into its structure. It was not the movement of time but the sections of the year, the unit of recurrent time, that were symbolically laid out, their sequence in time conveyed by the spatial order according to which the brick symbols were laid down. The "time" of Prajāpati as Time, allowed itself to the laid out spatially in a work of architecture. The time of Śiva flowed into the movement of the limbs of Śiva, the lord of the dance. Works of sculpture and architecture demonstrate each in its own form the time of which they are the symbols. The building of the Vedic altar, by the accompanying words of the sacred rite of architecture, is self-explanatory. Symbolically, time, the time of the seasons, was built into the altar. The form of the altar comprised time, conceived as it were in terms of space.

Prajāpati, who sacrifices himself into creation and is ritually restored by sacrificial man, the builder of the altar, is a self-contained symbol of the renewal of life. The building of the altar is the means by which man, like the Creator himself, is restored to wholeness (*cf.* ŚB. 11.1.8.4-6). Prajāpati's collapse is made god by his restoration. The symbol of his restoration, the altar, is piled, brick by brick; their layer make up its shape as the seasons make up the body of the year.

The other myth of Prajāpati was not enacted ritually by man on earth; it was seen in the sky the gods. Prajāpati, the antelope, became the victim of Rudra. Pierced by his arrow, the wounded antelope fled to the sky and became a star. Some say that the star is the head of the antelope (Mṛgaśirṣa) (SB. 2.1.2.8), and that Prajāpati, pierced by Rudra's arrow or by the gods, abandoned his body, "for the body is a mere relic (or dwelling, vāstu)" (ŚB. 2.1.2.9). Even so, it was Prajāpati's body, the body of the sacrifice. It is also said that Prajāpati assumed the form of the sacrifice and that he gave himself up to sacrificed (ŚB. 11.1.8.2-3). Prajāpati the antelope, the sacrificed animal, and Prajāpati the year, the sacrificial altar, are here equivalent. The myths of Rudra "sacrificing" Prajāpati and of Prajāpati's self-sacrifice were drawn together.

The year, Prajāpati, was renewed each spring, at the, vernal equinox, when a star was seen to rise before the sun. The star "supported" or heralded the rising sun and vanished when the sun had risen. With this spectacle in the sky began a new sacrificial year, a new cycle of life. The priest, watching the sky, uttered the *vaṣaṭ* call over the auspicious star and began to perform the rites of the new year sacrifice when the star was on longer visible, and until the sun had come to the spot where the star was last seen. For generations, the star that heralded the rising of the sun at the spring equinox was Orien; the beginning of the year was announced by the same star. Then over generations, the priest watching the sky observed that it was no longer Orien that rose before the sunrise of the spiring equinox. The sun had moved away and rose in another star, Aldebaran. The beginning of the sacrificial year had moved from Orion to Aldebaran; Prajāpati had moved toward Rohiṇi. The precession of the equinoxes, watched over more than a millennium (from ca. 4500 to ca. 3400 B.C), was telescoped mythically in the image of Prajāpati moving toward Rohiṇī. Rudra (Sirius), seeing that Prajāpati had moved to Rohiṇī, aimed at him.

Astronomical time, that is, the movement of the stars, illuminates the mythical movement of Rudra's appearance on the primordial scene. Mythically, Rudra appeared on the scene of the primordial morning out of nowhere and no time, right out of the Uncreate. His arrow, however, sped along time that carried it from intent to target. Having entered the scene, Rudra brought him with time. Its length was that of the flight of his arrow.

Prajāpati as the embodiment of the annual cycle of vegetative life played his part in the dawn of that first morning. Astronomically, it began a new era, that of Rohiṇi. Mythically, however, that morning signified the beginning of time as such and the dawn of creation. Ritually, Prajāpati was built up as the altar. Its layers were the seasons. Sections of time were homologised with spatial extent. Noetically, the conception of time preceded its symbols. In the language of myth, Time would be the father of Prajāpati.

Thus, the *AtharvaVeda* speaks of Time as the father of Prajāpati (AV. 19.53.8). Father Time is in the highest heaven (AV. 19.53.3), beyond the *cosmos,* beyond Prajāpati. He has engendered the past and the future (AV. 19.53.5). His is the eternal present, a time beyond time, duration without beginning or end: timeless transcendency in the Uncreate. Time is the source of immortality and all beings (AV. 19.53.2). Time transcended Prajāpati and became his son, living with his creatures as their past and future (cf. AV. 19.53.4). In the *AtharvaVeda* account, transcendent Time spontaneously flowed into creation. Neither violence nor sin accompanied its descent. The *beatific* epiphany of transcedental time in the temporality of the created would included Prajāpati.

Although Śiva played no part in the hymns of Time the *AtharvaVeda* (AV. 19.53.54), the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* knows Śiva as beyond time. "Higher and other than time...is he from *whom the world* revolves" (SUp. 6.6). *He is the beginning,* the impulse of the causes...beyond time, and without separate parts' (SUp. 6.5). "Into him... the beginning and at the end the universe is gathered" (SUp. 4.1). "He is the maker of time" (kālakāra) (SUp. 6.2, 16).

Time in manifestation, when the first sun rising over a world of temporality, was Rudra's invisible, *cooperating antagonist*. Their interaction was set in motion from a source in the beyond. The *Atharva Veda* calls this originator Kāla in the highest heaven. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* calls him Śiva.

Śiva is Time *beyond time,* Time undivided in its plenitude, as it was before and is *beyond creation. Transcendental* Time, as the fullness of eternity, pervades the Uncreate. Time in the Uncreate is the hidden source of the causes that unite the Uncreate with creation. At this junction, Rudra discharged his arrow. The motionless time of eternity, which permeates the Uncreate, set forth into creation as temporality. The Wild God together with his cooperating antagonist were its figures. The cause itself that set them forth bears their own names. It is called Kāla in the highest heaven or Śiva as Kālakāra, "the maker of time." The theophany of Śiva as Time has taken into itself Kāla in the highest heaven. From him the world revolves, in him is the origin of the revolving time world; he spins the universe, and draws its rotating axis back into timelessness.

Śiva, however, as transcendental Time as such, is called Mahākāla (MBh. 12, app.

1, No. 28, line 249), time in its vastness; whereas within creation he is all movement in time, for this is how Time manifests. Śiva is the cosmic dancer, Rudra the hunter, whose arrow flies in time. As Rudra let the arrow fly and the sun was already rising over the primal scene, paradoxically undisturbed motionless Time took what is his—namely, time—put it between the intent of the maker of time and his target—and the seed of the Father flowed down on the earth.

The irruption of transcendental Time, into creation, its transmutation into the temporality of this world, made itself felt as a searing, invisible combustion that consumed continuously the universe. Kāla, Time, came down in an uninterrupted current, imperceptibly assailing all beings, unnoticeably from instant changing each creature, drawing it into obscruity, touching every part of man and the universe (MBh. 12.217.18-59). The descent of transcendent Time into the world of temporality was an invisible, continuous combustion of existence, darkly insidious and silent. "In the conversation of people time moves along in imperceptible form" (SP. 5.26.10).

Mythically, Time, the cooperating antagonist of Śiva, coalesced with Śiva. Cosmogonically, transcendent Time descended into the world, extending while consuming its substance from within, in an imperceptible process. From this ailing world as his background in manifestation, Śiva withdrew and became Sthāṇu, the post, in the whom time stood still.

It was Sthāṇu who made Brahmā desist from the holocaust Brahmā had intended. At that time the Great Yogi, acknowledging the inexorable movement of time, which he transcends (SUp. 6.5), and of which he himself is the cause (SUp. 6.2), in the stillness of his stance appaled to Brahmā. Śiva as Sthāṇu, the pillar, the Great Yogi, had in himself that timeless state that he has as Kāla in the highest heaven. Brahmā inserted into the inexorable onrush of time the quiescence that was in Sthāṇu. Thenceforward time flowed rhythmically through the activity of life to the quietude of its cessation and on to a new life. The aeviternal return is a form of Śiva's Yogic stasis projected into the ceaseless movement of time, a paradoxical entry of transcendental Time or timelessness in which the Great Yogi dwells, into the relentless passage of time. Cyclical time of alternating activity and withdrawal is a modality, created by Brahmā, of Śiva's, Sthāṇu's, being. This form of the "eternal return," brought about by Brahmā cooperating with Śiva, is related to Prajāpati, the year's recurrent time. Its cycle revolves in the life of nature; the other, the time of the "eternal return," flows through the hearts of the believer.

At another cosmic moment, at the churning of the ocean, Śiva took into himself the world poison that is time. He swallowed the poison that had risen from the ocean, or which Vāsuki, the king of serpents of the netherworld, had thrown up. Its flames and fumes would have asphyxiated gods and demons alike. Or it was not Vāsuki but Ananta, the Endless, the cosmic serpent, from whose mouth Kālakūṭa, the poison called time, had issued (*cf.* KuP. 1.42.26-28).

Sthāṇu inserted his timeless being into time, giving it the rhythm of all who were to breathe in life and *case* in death and start again in an ever-renewed systole and diastole. The aeviternal return is a form of time due to Śiva's compassion for living beings.

All the same, time proceeds relentlessly, composed of minute parts that are less than an instant (*kṣaṇa*), compassed of days, months and years: every fraction of Kāla is a form of Śiva (MBh. 13.17.138; SP. 7.1.7.6). Kāla is *forever* at work, changing at every moment the living bodies that he consumes. The inexorable power of Kāla cannot be fought because Kāla creates the beings and destroys them; everything is in Kāla's power, but Kāla is in no one else's power. He controls all this. Hence Kāla has described as praṇa, the vital breath (KuP. 2.3.16-17). Imperceptibly, Kāla's identity slides over that of Rudra, the life breath in all beings, and Lord Śiva recognized himself behind Kāla's mask (Ch. VII.6).

Śiva is "the maker of time" (SUp. 62, 16). By acting as he did from the beginning, he created time, his cooperating antagonist. They appeared simultaneously on the scene of the *world*. Rudra the Fire, Agni is also Kālāgni (Kāla-Agni), the Fire that destroys the world, the fire that is time. Time pervades the manifest universe, the world of māyā. In the song of the Lord, the Īśvara Gitā, Rudra says of himself that being the master of and one with māyā, he becomes united with Kāla, creates the universe, *and also* destroys it (KūP. 2.3.22-23). Kāla impelled by Rudra, creates the universe and gives it momentum. Rudra gives the impetus of Kāla just as *he* prepared the seed for the Father. Rudra is the prime mover. Kāla is the dark, world-destroying form of Lord Śiva, Śambhu, who is benevolent (KūP. 1.42.29).

Rudra destroyed the world by assumming the form of Kāla (KuP. 1.42.28-29). Being but a form, an aspect issued from the Lord, Kāla is said to be born of Śaṅkara, the bringer of peace (KuP. 1. 42.29) as much as kālāgni, the destroyer who reduces everything to ashes, becomes Maheśhvara, the Great Lord (KūP. 2.44.2-3).

Kala, whether as rudra or born of Rudra (MBh. 13.16.51) and breathing with him in all beings, retains his own aeviternal identity. He is time, the Destroys, death in every breath in creation. The gods were afraid of him. "All the gods, frightened by Kāla saw the great who is Hara, the ravisher, and, calmed by him, became peaceful" (KuP. 12.4.40). In their fear, the gods were drawn to Hara/Śiva, as fearful an aspect of the great god as is Kāla. Hara took away their fear and restored peace to them. Kāla, Time is but a nuance of Hara, the destroyer. Kāla knows no peace. Kāla is perpetual movement, has and gives no rest, races along from beginning to end, without respite, merciless, offering no refuge. Śiva Kālāgni, the consuming fire of time, Śiva Śaṅkara, the bringer of peace "into whom at the beginning and at the end all the universe is gathered" (SUp. 4.1), is the origin of the world and its destroyer (MBh. 13.145.38.39; 13.14.182-85), so that it can arise anew.

The time *by* which the worlds come to an end is different from the *time* that measures life (*cf.* SSi. 10). Time that measures life is lived time; its desired duration for the human being is a hundred years. Rudra has the power *to* cut short its span. Inasmuch as Kāla is Rudra, Rudra is death, or a form of death (MBh. 13.14.184). He consumes life by burning it up as Agni (MBh. 13.14.184); he is death (Mṛtyu) and the god of death (Yama); *he* is Kāla (Time) (MBh. 13.16.51). Time is the universal des*troy*er (MBh. 13.17.31-32). He *burns* the universal that he has created (MBh. 13.14.129). His form is time (MBh. 13.17.104). He is past, present, and future (SP. 7.1.7.4) and he is aeviternal time, *form* of

the ceaseless succession of birth and death. Everything arises from Kāla and perishes through Kāla (SP. 7.1.7.1), Kāla is relentless, unilineal time, Death, the Ender, unassuaged by the palliative of the aeviternal return into which Rudra let flow his Yogic absorption, unamenable to elixirs (SP. 7.1.7.14). Time is the universal fatality. "The whle universe caught in its mouth whirls like a wheel through the activites of creation and annihilation" (ŚP. 7.1.7.2). While Śiva recognizes himself as time, opening that dangerous mouth; he recognizes himself in his own image spread over the firmament as Kālarūpin, the shape of time, the Zodiac (VmP. 5.28-30; cf. MBh. 13.17.104). Within Śiva's being, Śiva Kālarūpin is the antithesis of Śiva, the Lord of Yoga. As the *Supreme* Yogi, Śiva is the imaged symbol not of time but of eternity, the unfathomable dimension of the uncreate realised, paradoxically, within embodied beings who are yogis (SP. 5.26.12). Kāla, the inherent calamity of existence, is a form of Śiva, is under the control of Śiva, but Śiva is not subject to its control (SP. 7.1.7.9-10).

Rudra in manifestation coalesced with his antagonist at the begins of creation, and Rudra as Kālāgni, the fire that is time, absorbs the word into his own self at the time of destruction (AUp. 55 and commentary). Thus, when the creation is to be dissolved, Rudra assumes the forms of Kāla, the all-consuming fire (MBh. 13.14.184-85), and burns down universe (AP. 368.7-11). He burns it down and dances wildly (SP. 33.28-29). The consuming the fire of time is the Destroyer. Kāla devours existence in the dark abyss of his wide jaws.

The power of burning, devouring Kāla cooperates with tamas, "darkness," the tendency of disintegration. They are at one within Rudra, who draws the world into non-existence. Tamas, a quality inherent in creation, has no mythical figure, as Kāla does. Tamas, the tendency of disintegration, like Kāla, all-consuming time, is active from the beginning. "Whatever, destroys any existing thing, moveable or stationary" is the Destroyer, Rudra (VP. 1.22.39). Rudra to whom tamas belongs enters the night of destruction into which creation has been drawn. There, Kāla, of dark complexion (LP. 1.95.41), as Kālāngi Rudra absorbs the world into himself (AUp. 55 and commentary). Rudra remains even after all is gone at the end of the kalpa (MBh. 13.14.185), even as he existed before creation and before time (AUp. 2 and commentary). Then, however, there was no darkness and "when there is no darkness, then there is no day or night, nor being, nor non-being," only Śiva alone. "That is the Imperishable," "the adorable light of the Impeller, and the ancient wisdom proceeded from that" (SUp. 4.18).

Śiva's ambience comprises and exceeds the world of time. The Great Yogi, the destroyer of all fetters, is also the destroyer of time. Kāla's realm is the world, the entire manifestation. While he races through it unchecked, he leaves behind him the motionless bodies across which he has sped. Kāla means death to the body, to individual existence Śiva, the Great God in transcedency, made and impelled Kāla, made him, in manifestation, share his entire domain, to unfold his innumerable illusions, while he from whom this world revolves is beyond and other than time (*cf.* SUp. 6.6). Timelessness is an attribute that "undefines" the Uncreate. Rudra, the guardian of the Uncreate and avenger of its violation, in his form of Sthāṇu is the yogi in whom the Uncreate is restored in its integrity. Mokṣa, release from the fetters of contingency, is the recreated Uncreate, recreate by Yoga, of which Rudra is the Lord. The discipline of Yoga is a mode of the creative power. "Yoga is called māyā (creative power) by the wise, and Mahādeva, the Great God, is called yogi and Lord of Yoga" (KuP. 2.4.30).

Yoga is a *fervent* discipline or asceticism by which the human practitioner releases the power to dissolve his bondage to the world (*cf.* SP. 5.26.12). By the same Yoga, Mahādeva, the Great Lord of Yoga, creates this world in all its contingency and relativity in which ultimate reality is shrouded by his māyā. In his ultimate reality, Śiva does not unfold the veil of māyā. Being beyond action, he does not reveal the creative power by which he sets the world in motion. Setting it into motion, he is Kāla, whom he impels (KūP. 2.4.28-29) aeviternally. This impulsion out of eternity, an act of supreme bliss, is Śiva's, the yogi's, eternal dance (Ku*P.* 2.4.33).

Impelled by the supreme joy of creative power, god Kāla is given his mandate, and by his own sport, aeon after *aeon*, he consumes the whole universe; and having consumed it, Kāla becomes Mahākāla (SkP. 4.1.7.91). Kāla, the dark mode of Śiva, moves as an antiphony of Śiva's dance; the fire of creation becomes recognizable in the fire of destruction as it flares up again and again, until its extinction, when Kāla, Time, consumes itself and becomes Mahākāla, absolute Time or timelessness.

Kāla is the dark mode of Śiva. Kāla means "time," "death," and "black." It is equivalent to tamas, the dark tendency of disintegration, of which Śiva is the lord. As Kāla he swallows everything with the quality of darkness (KuP. 1.10.82). Compacting the images and narrative of myth with Sāṁkhya philosophy, the Kūrma Purāṇa evokes the progress of Kālāgni, the Fire of Time, which burns everything to ashes. He burns the whole universe *alongwith gods*, demons, and men. Taking on a terrifying appearance and entering the sun's orb, he burns the enire world. After the conflagration of the gods, the Goddess stands alone, the sole witness; with a garland of the skulls of the gods as His ornament, He fills heaven. He has a thousand eyes, a thousand shapes, a thousand hands, a thousand feet, a thousand rays, huge arms, fangs in his dreadful face, eyes blazing, holding a trident, wearing animal skin, abiding in divine Yoga, having drunk supreme, abundant, nectarine bliss, the Supreme Lord dances the Tāṇḍava dance. The highly blesses goddess, having drunk the nectar of the dance of her consort, through yoga enters the body of the trident-bearing god (KuP. 2.44.2-12).

Leaving the ecstasy of the Tāṇḍava dance at his pleasure, the Lord sees the burning universe. Then the earth with all her properties dissolves into water. Fire devours the water; fire is dissolved in wind, wind in space, space in the sense organs; the gods are dissolved in one of the three modes of bondage constituting ahaṁkāra (the individuating principles) ahaṁkāra is dissolved in mahat (cosmic intellent), and mahat is dissolved in brahman. After dissolving the elements and the principles in this manner, her Great Lord separates *prakṛti* (cosmic substance) from *puruṣa* (spirit). Their dissolution does not come about by itself. It is willed by the Great L*ord, Prak*ṛti nonmanifest is the quilibrium of the guṇas. Prakṛti, the womb of the world, is without consciousness. Puruṣa, Consciousness itself, the twenty-fifth principle (tattva), stands at the apex, apart, the Only One. The sages call him the witness. Thus, according to sacred tradition, does the perpetual power of the Great Lord Rudra burn everything, from *prakṛti* to atoms (KūP. 2.44.13-24).

Kālāgni, the Fire of Time, operates within creation and devours it. Timelessness as it was before creation, before the beginning in which inhereas the end, has its figure in god Mahākāla, Time as measureless immensity. Mahākāla is the ultimate paradox of time.

While Kāla and Kālāgni are degrees of Rudra in manifestation, at its end and beyond manifestation, Kāla alone has a witness and victim in every living being. Releasing his dutch on life as Kālāgni, in a consuming blaze of self-ignition, his metamorphosis is the metaphysical fulfilment of time as Mahākāla, eternity. The mythical figure of Mahākāla is Bhairava. The hierarchy of Time within Lord Śiva is acted out in the myth of Bhairava. The myth shows the overcoming of temporality that has its image in Kāla, the god who is Time and Death, gorging himself on the bodies of the living. As such, Kāla is committed to an act of continuous destruction, aeon after aeon. Then the Lord Kālāgni Rudra, the highest lord, the seed of the universe, the fire of annihilation "whose form is time and who has no form" (KuP. 1.28.48), reduces everything to ashes and merges the self in his own Self (KuP. 2.44.2-3).

15

The Bhairava Cult in the Bhanja Rule

Śaivism in Orissa had its regional development from various tribal cults. The Bhanjas who claimed their origin from the egg of a pea-hen, seem to have a tribal origin. The copper plate grants of the early Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj refer to the Ganadanda Virabhadra, born of a pea-hen's egg and brought up by sage Vaśishtha, as the progenitor of the dynasty. Virabhadra, the progenitor of the Bhanja family, reminds us about the cult of the Sapta Mātrikas in which Śiva assumes the form of Virabhadra and occupies the key position among the seven divine mothers. In the light of this mythological background it is clear that the Śaivite Bhanja kings traced their descent from Śiva Himself, who had assumed the Samhara Murti of Virabhadra during the sacrifice of Daksha. Therefore, the epithet Gana-Daṇḍa may mean a tribal chief, who was associated with the cult of Virabhadra. Sculptural representation of Virabhadra in the circle of Saptamatrkas in the Orissan temples indicates that Virabhadra cult emerged as a result of the simultaneous rise of Śaivism and Śaktism in Orissa.

Like the Śailodbhavas who claimed that they originated out of pieces of rock by the grace of Svayambhu Śiva, the Bhanjas also claim that they came out from the egg of pea-hen, obviously through the grace of Śiva which granted them Virabhadra, a *Śivagana,* as the progenitor of the dynasty. This veiled allusion to the theory of the divine origin of kingship associated with Virbhadra as the progenitor, indicates the stronghold of Śaivism over Khijjngakota, identified with modern khiching in Mayurbhanj district of Orissa. In the preamble to the Bamanaghati plates we find the following lines invoking to grace of Śiva and Parvati: *Sakalabhuvanaikanātha bhava bhaya bhiduro Bhavōbhabāniśaḥ Vividha samādhi vidhijñaḥ sarvajñovaḥ Sivāyastuḥ*

The Adibhanjas rules over Khijjingokota identified with modern, Kiching, 92 miles north-west from Baripada in the district of Mayurbhanj of Orissa. Khiching is a place of archaeological importance, yielding Śaivite sculptures from the early part of the seventh century A.D. It is further striking to note that Maj. General Cunningham identified Karnasuvarna, the capital of the great Śaivite monarch Śasanka, with the region around Khiching and Benusagara, it is recorded in the Bamaghati plates the Ganadanda Virabhadra, came out of the egg of a pea-hen in the Mahatapovana called Koṭyāśrama.

Mahatapovana of this charter may be identified with Tapovana near Dvaitavan, the fradle of the Saivite teachers of Śaiva teachers of Śaiva Siddhanta system. Tapovana is referred to as the seat of these *Āchāryas* in the Senakpat inscription and Lodhia copper plate grant of Mahaśīvagupta Balarjuna. In that case it may be suggested that the Śaivite teachers, who disseminated Śaiva Siddhanta system in Kośala and Kalinga in the post-Gupta period, also exerted considerable influence on the Bhanjas of Khijjkngakota. In the copper plate inscriptions of Ranabhanja of Khijjingakota, we find the emblem of a semi-full-blown lotus, a standing bull, a trident and a crescent moon. These symbols indicate that Śaivism was the creed of the ruling family.

In the Khandadeuli plate, an endowment has been made in favour of Bhagavana Mahadeva Bhattaraka and accordingly the charter had been issued to Bhattaputra Rachho for the management of the temple of Lord Śiva. We learn from another Bhanja copper plate charter that Rayabhanjadev was free from all sins as a results of constant worship at the feet of Lord Hara (*haracharaṇāradhanā kshayita pāpah*). Narendrabhanja continued the religious policy of Maharaja Ranabhanja and extended his patronage for Śaivism. He is described in his Adipura copper plate grant as a 'bee' in the lake of Śiva's feet (*Śiva-charaṇasarosaṭpadaḥ*). Satrubhanja, successor of Narendrabhanja and son of Ranabhanja, issued his Kesari copper plate grant in favour of Lord Śamkara (*Bhagavad Bhattāraka Śaṁarasamudisya*) and dedicated the charter to Bhattaputra Dandapaṇi who migrated from Madhyadeśa, for the maintenance of the temple of Śamkara.

The epigraphical records reveal that the Bhanjas who were devout worshippers of Śiva, contributed richly for the development of Śaivite thought and culture at Khiching and its surroundings in Mayurabhanj. N.N Vasu has given an account of the Śaivite temples and sculptures of Haripura, Mantri and Barsai. He is of opinion that in the hilly tract of Mayurbhanj worship of Śiva was introduced in very early times. He has referred to the ruins of Koisarigarh where he noticed an ancient sculpture of Uma Maheśvara. In this sculpture Maheśvara is seated on a petalled lotus. It is a two armed figure. In one hand Śiva embraces Uma and he shows *abhayamudrā* through the right hand. He wears *jatāmukuta* on the head. Ornamentation of the figure is in its nascent form. Uma is seated on the left thigh of Śiva and behind the figure of Uma, there is the representation of the trident. There are heavenly bodies on the top of the figure. The iconographic features indicate that the sculpture was produced in or about eighth century A.D. under the patronage of the Bhanjas.

It seems that from the very beginning the Bhanjas were associated with that form of Śaivism in which worship of Śakti along with Virabhadra was inculcated. They also seem to have worshipped Bhairava who was one of the elevan Rudras according to the Ṛgveda. This is well-illustrated by an excellent image of Ajaikapada Bhairava from Koisari. Here Bhairava is shown standing on one foot (*Ekapāda*). The image is four armed. The attendants hold *triśūla* on their hands. The head of Bhairava is decorated with a Conical tiara and trifoliate halo with *Kirttimukha* and heavenly bodies in the top. It is further interesting to note that there is the representation of a Dhyani Buddha on the *Kiriti* of the figure, thereby indicating the impact of Buddhism on the Bhairava cult which

flourished in the Bhanja territory in or about the tenth century A.D. The Bhanjas of Dhritipura are known to have invoked the grace of Bhairava in all their epigraphical records.

A Khiching and Viratagrah there are extensive ruins of Śaivite temples and sculptures which no doubt indicate the cultural heritage of the Bhanjas. The temple of Chandraśekhara which is still standing there is of the Śikhara type without *mukhamaṇḍapa* or porch. Very close to the temple of Chandraśekhara, there is the ruined temple of Nilakantheśvara popularly known as Kutei Tundi. It is a small temple without porch. Among this group of temples, R.P. Chandra discovered the foundation of an older temple dedicated to Śiva. On the basis of architectural style he assigned the temple to Kottabhanja or Digbhanja. On the site of this group of temples there are two life-size images, one of four armed Śiva holding in the left lower hand a human skull to serve as a cup and mother of Bhairava. The dancing figure of Śiva-Nataraja and the standing figure of Śiva, both damaged, are some of the excellent and equisite productions of Śaivite sculpture of Khiching.

In or about the eighth century A.D. scions of the Bhanja family ruled in different parts of Orissa. One of the branches flourished at Dhritipura in the modern Soneput region of the western part of Orissa. Śatrubhanjadeva alias Gandhata is considered to be the founder of the city of the Gandhatapati identified with modern Gandharadi where we notice the celebrated twin temples of Siddheśvara and Nilamadhava. In his Sonepur grant he was the first Bhanja king to invoke the grace of Bhairava in the following words:—

Samharakalahutabhugvikaralaghora
Sambhrantekimkarakritānta nitanta bhinnam/
Bhinnāndhakāsura mahāgahātapatram
Tad Bhairavam Haravapuḥ bhavataḥprāpatu//

This invocatory verse which was initiated by Śatrubhanja for his successors at Dhritipura, reveals that he was a worshipper of Bhairava, who is one of the eleven Rudras, but strangely enough in line 16 of the same Soneput grant, he refers to himself as *Aṇḍajavamśaprabhava parama-vaishṇava.* This was probably the same period when the Bhauma queen Tribhuvana Mahadevi assumed the epithet '*paramavaishṇavī*' and upheld the cause of Vaishnavism. This was an interesting period in the beginning of synthesis of Vaishnavism and Śaivism. According to the Kumurakela charter Śatrubhanja is known to have donated lands to Bhattamanoratha who was a resident of Gandhatapati, identified with modern Gandharadi. The grant was made in favour of Vishnubhattaraka on the occasion of *Kārttika Śuklapaksha Mahādvādaśī.* According to the *Haribhaktivilāsa,* Lord Vishnu rises from his deep sleep from *Kārttika Sukla Ekādaśi*. Satrubhaja's son and successor Ranabhanja I alias Yathā-sukhadeva again reverted to the traditional religious faith of the Bhañjas and declared himself as a devout worshipper of Śiva. He also claims to have been blessed by the Divine mother Stambheśvarī, thereby linking himself with both Śaivism and Śaktism.

The cult of Stambheśvari had been popular in Orissa from C. 4th century A.D. when Maharaja Tustikara professed this faith in the Kalahandi region. It is interesting to note that in the Sonepur region which was under the control of the Bhanjas, Stambhesvari cult was equally popular. Ranabhañja's Orissa Museum and Sonepur plates indicate that he professed Śaivism during his 9th regnal year. But in his 22nd regnal year he once again embraced Vaishnavism and declared himself a *Paramavaishnava* and *Ubhayakhiñjalyādhipati*. Again in the last part of his reign in his 54th and 58th regnal years he reverted to Śaivism and claimed the title of *Paramamāheśvara*. However, in all his copper plate grants, he invoked the grace of Bhairava. His chief queen Vidyamahadevi, daughter of Ranaka Niyarnama, was also a devout worshipper of Śiva and she is known to have made rich endowment for Vijaeśvara Śiva. It seems that Ranaka Niyarnama is the same as Ranaka Niyarnava mentioned in the Singhipura plate of Dharmakhedi in the time of Devendravarman, dated in Ganga Kadamba era 520. Ranaka Niyarnava of the Kadamba dynasty was a feduatory chief under the early Gangas who were great champions of Śaivism. Matrimonial relationship of Ranabhanja with the Kadambas seems to be a factor that led him to embrace Śaivism once again and ultimately to realise the synthesis of Vaishnavism and Śaivism.

It was this realisation that probably enabled him to patronise Śaivism and Vaishnavism simultaneously in his territory. It was this attitude of the monarch that led to the construction of the twin temples of Siddeśvara and Nilamadhava at Gandharadi. This process of synthesis seems to have started from the time of Śailodbhavas and the Gaṅgas who, inspite of their abiding faith in Śaivism, were also votaries of Vishnu in the form of Narayana and Madhava. The same process passed through an evolution under the Bhauma-karas and the Bhanjas who were also patrons of Vaishnavism and Śaivism. It was this synthesis which ultimately led the Somavamśis to harmonise the two leading faiths in the Harihara cult which reached high watermark in the temple of Lingaraja. It was this conviction which led the author of *Ekāmra Purāṇa* to record, "There is no difference between Vishnu and Śiva. This is the everlasting law and he who follows this law, attains salvation."

The same ideology, which led Śailodbhavas to set up the image of Vishnu by the side of Uma-Maheśvara, inspired the Bhanja monarchs to construct the twin temple of Vishnu and Śiva side by side. Unfortunately the sculptures in the niches of the temples have become the victims of local vandalism. However, the significant image of Vishnu in the temple of Nilamādhava is an exquisite production of Vaishnavite art of the ninth century A.D. The site is at a distance of about 14 kilo meters from the town of Baudh. The temples are made of sandstone and belong to the *Śikhara* type of the medieval period. The image of Vishnu with the bejewelled and concial tiara and the representation of the heavenly bodies on the top of the figure indicates that it was produced in or about the ninth century A.D. When the temples were discovered in the early part of twentieth century, many sculptures of the temple were intact but unfortunately those sculptures do not exist there at present. Prof. R.D. Banerji is of opinion that the twin temples "are exactly similar to the Paraśurameśvara. The ornamentation of the *Jagamohana* of the Gandharadi temple

is also different from that of the Paraśurameśvara. If the temple of Paraśurameśvara belonged to the eighth century A.D. those of Gandharadi may be assigned to the ninth century A.D.

Successors of Ranabhanja, having shifted to Vanjulvaka in the Ghumsar region of the Ganjam district, continued to profess Śaivism and patronised its cause enthusiastically. Śilabhanga alias Tribhuvana Kalasa, vidyadharabhañja alias Amogha Kalasa, Śatrubhanja alias Mangala-raja and Nettabhanja alias Prithvu kalasa zealously patronised the cause of Śaivism. Vidyadharabhanja added the following invocatory verse in praise of Lord Śiva Museum plate:

Jayatu kusumavāṇa prāṇa Vikshobhadaksham
Svakiraṇa pariveshorjityājirṇendu lekha
Tribhuvanaḥ bhavanāntardyota bhāsvat pradipaḥ
Kanakanikashagauraṃ vibhrunetraṃ Harsya.

In this way the panegyrists of the Bhanja kings of Vanjulvaka composed invocatory verses thereby enriching the Śaivite literature through epigraphical records.

The Bhanjas of Ghumsar region continued to worship Śiva with an eclectic outlook. But with the rise of Ramanujacharya in the twelfth century A.D. they came under his overwhelming influence. The school of Śrivaishnavism propounded by Ramanuja in the twelfth century A.D. had deep effect on Chodaganga who embraced Vaishnavism and constructed the temple of Purusottam Jagannatha and Lakshmi at Puri. During the reign of Reghava, Jayadeva popularised Rādhā cult through his *Gitagovinda* and under Anangabhimadeva III Vaislnavism was spread in the length and breadth of Orissa. Anangabhimadeva III was a great devotee of Purushottam Jagannatha whom he identified with Vishnu. He is known to have constructed a temple of Jagannath at Abhinava Varanasi Kataka identified with modern Cuttack. The phrase *Viśhnumayaiṇ yathāparinataṃ* in the Ganga praśasti pertaining to the time of Anangabhima III indicates indirectly that the concept of all pervading Vishnu was accepted by this people at large all over Orissa.

It is interesting to note that Jayabhanjadeva who ruled over Kulada kaṭaka region near Bhanjanagar flourished exactly during the reign of Anangabhimadeva III and with him there was a turn in the religious faith of the Bhanjas from Śaivism to Vaishnavism. The donee of his Antirigam plates Sri Jagadhara, son of Pandita Dharadhara, is not other than the donee of the same name mentioned in the Kopotesvara copper plate grant of Anagabhima III. This identification of the donee in the two inscriptions leaves no doubt that Jayabhanjadeva was a contemporary and subordinate of the Ganga emperor Anangabhima III. Under the preponderating influence of Anangabhima III and the impalpable forces of Śrivaishnavism, Jayabhanjadeva of Kulada-kataka, who was deeply devoted to Śri Śamkar embraced Śrivaishnavism (*Śrivaishnavah Sāmprataṃ*. The Bhanjas, hereafter, were indoctrinated in Śrivaishṇavism of Ramānuja and accepted Narayana, marked by *Śrivatsalānchhana, Śamkha, Chakra, Gadā* and *Padma,* as their tutelary deity (*kuladevatā*).

The Bhanjas who were subordinates of the Bhaumakaras in the eighth and ninth century A.D. were worshippers of Śiva. Under them Śaivism gained a strong hold in a considerable part of Orissa from Mayurbhanj to Ganjam and their influence spread as far as Sonepur in the western part of Orissa. At a later stage they worshipped Bhairava, one of the eleven Rudras under the influence of the tantric form of Śaivism of the Mattamayura school. In a copper plate inscription of the eighth century A.D. Nettabhanjadeva who flourished in the Ghumsar region, invoked the grace of Sadasiva decorated with matter hair, crescent moon, garland of skull and the great serpent. Later on the Bhanjas were inspired by an eclectic outlook and contributed to the rise of Hari hara cult, illustrated by the significant twin temples of Gandaradi. It is only with the rise of the Imperial Gangas and the great teacher Ramanuja that they ultimately accepted Śrivaishnavism in the thirteenth century A.D.

16

Buddhism and Śaivism in Orissa

Buddhism flourished in Orissa from the 7th Century A.D. and it was highly patronised by the Bhaumakara rulers like Ksemankaradeva, Sivakaradeva I and Subhakaradeva II. During this period there were great Buddhist scholars like Luipa, Kahnupa, Tilapa, Jalandharipa, Anangavajra, Savaripa, Kambalapa, Vajrapani and there was famous Ratnagiri Vihara for their learning and teaching Buddhist ideology of Mahayanic Order. Sometimes, Uḍḍiyānā is identified with Orissa and it is taken into account of Buddhist tantric centre which contrasts our opinion of Śaiva centre. Besides, influence of Buddhism of Śaivism can be estimated from Uḍḍiyānāpitha, Linga worship and deities in vogue in Orissa.

Though there is no unanimity among the scholars in identifying Uḍḍiyānā with Orissa, the similarity between two names draws them nearer to be one and the same. Uḍḍiyana has got the status of the place of pilgrim in Buddhist literature, the annals of the T'sang dynasty of China, the Hevajratantra and the miniature Nepalese manuscript. All these literary evidences cannot be anterior to the 8th century A.D. As we have seen above Orissa and Kalinga were regarded as Śaiva pitha since round about the third century B.C. But it is a fact that Orissa as a place of pilgrim was popularised far and wide through Buddhism. It is the peculiarity of Buddhism that it has grown with the aid of traditional and the Vedic tenets of Śaivism, and the reformation brought in the Buddhism caused Śaivism was its own traditional spirit. The propriety of Buddhism is perceptible in all shades of Śaivism in Orissa. Particularly, the feasibility of Uḍisā being the Bodha pitha may be viewed from the development of Buddhism with the proximity of Śaivism.

Śiva was best known in Kapilavastu, the birth place of Gautama Buddha. It comes in the opinion and quotation of N.N. Vasu "We find in Lalita Vistara and also in the accounts given by one of the Chinese travellers that the Sakyas of Kapilavastu were worshippers of Śiva. In the latter account we find the following: outside this gate, was a temple of Isvaradeva containing a stone image of the God in the attitude or sing and bowing. This was the temple into which the infant price (the P'usa), on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by command of the king, his father (who was present with the party) to be presented to the God according to the custom of the Sakyas." Gautama grew up. He saw life transitory. Illness, old age and death—all bring sorrows.

He searched after the reasons which bring sorrows. He found out craving. he got it through the practice of *āphānakayoga* (Yoga of psychic expansion). But after achieving perfection he pressed upon meditation. This was his means for conquering over thirst. People followed him but in vain. He directed them to seek an isolated and simple life by the means of mediation. Still his meditation was not simple reflection of abstract subjects, but trances of self-hypnotism. He laid down injunctions: 1. Not to take life, 2. Not to seal, 3. To refrain from unlawful sexual intercouse, 4. Not to tell lies, and 5. Not to drink intoxicating liquors.

Under this condition monastic life became hazardous. Various opinions arose. So during the 4th Century the Buddhism saw eighteen different sects, which are grouped under four heads—Mahāsanghikā, Sthavirā, Sarvāstivāda and Samitiya. "Buddhism began as a religious movement confined to recluses dwelling in monasteries and had very little to do with the existing social systems and religious beliefs." The traditional belief could not allow the commandments of Buddha to cross the territories of North Indian in which he travelled for about 45 years. The belief was no other than belief in Phallism. It was his opposition. It was in necessity of an Imperial Power.

Ashoka entered into the field as a lay disciple. He pushed forward Buddhism into unknown tracts in India and abroad. But his own religious view was revealed in the name of Dhamma. In India it was engrafted in umber of Rock Edicts. Stupas were erected. The Rock Edicts in Orissa bore the instructions to the officers to look into the paternal relation of Ashoka with the Kalingas. So also Rock Edicts outside Kalinga bore the testimony of mythic war histories. The uniform formula were the glorification of his military strength and it was intended to show that he could raise lamentation in enemy camp, he could create streams of blood and could carry war-prisoners in large number. For his Buddhist works might have checked the traditional phallism in Kalinga. Kalinga too a different turn. It brought Śiva in place of the sun and Indra.

After Ashoka much extravegance entered into popular Buddhism. So Buddhism saw its reformation during the period of Kaniska and Asvaghosa. In this third phase of reformation Buddhism accepted traditional beliefs and customs of the mass. The dissident section won over the orthodox. So a divison came as—Mahayana and Hinayana. Asvahosa and Kaniska remained in the Mahayana camp. For the patronisation of Sungas and Kushanas the Samitiya group of old Buddhism gave rise to Guhya Samaj which became the combining phase of Boudha and Śaiva systems. As a result, the Arhat-hood of the Hinayana was superseded by the Bodhisattvahood of the Mahayana. It was based on the Tathata doctrine of Asvaghosa. The Tathata doctrine brought the doctrine of second birth into its fold. It was more developed through the Madhyamika school of Nagarjuna and through the Vijnanavada school of Maitreya (4th Century A.D.). Later, Vajrapani of Mangalakostha was, perhaps, the chief exponent of Vajrayana sub-section, which had strong influence on religious life of Orissa, of Mahayana. Vajrapani was, perhaps, a tantrin in Orissa, sometime about 8th century A.D. and he was revered in Tibet as the Hindu god, Indra. Mangalakostha may be identified with mangalapur and Kothar of Bhadrak sub division. Those two villages are situated by the road side from Bhadrak

to Aradi, which is famous for Akhandalesvara. The very name and fame of the Linga prompt us to say that it has been effective by Vajrapani. This may be the reason for which Balasore district is packed up with Buddhist images.

Like Vajrapani there was Indrabhuti associating with Vajrayana and Uḍḍiyānā. They may be taken as the synonyms of Indra till their biographical records are found out. They were tantra-Yogins of Uḍrayana and they were appropriated by Mahayana. Perhaps there were dreadful situations in Tibet and Udisa, so in acculteration of the regions, the Buddhist tantrins were recognised as the Vedic Indra. The situation in which Indra became Vajrapani has been described by H. Hackmann as follows: "The terror of dangerous and dreadful spirits rules to an astonishing extent. It is undoubtedly connected with the awe-inspiring powers of nature which surround to Tibetans. Those gloomy mountain ravines and desolate peaks, those waste mysterious plateaus and morasses, those snowy summits and glaciers, those stony wastes, those icy and terrible severe tempests, landslips, avalanches, thunder storms, and earthquakes, the last of which are of frequent occurrences in Eastern Tibet—such things are a fruitful soil for superstitious imagination. And Buddhism simply accepted and accentuated this tendency. It came provided with a powerful equipment of deities, charms and methods of exorcism, of the Mahayana doctrine from Northern India and this equipment so completely coalesced with the existing superstitions of Tibet that it is difficult to know which was the conqueror and which was the conquered."

The dorje, the equivalent of the ancient thunderbolt of the Hindu god Indra, was used for the exorcism. The Buddhism conquered over the people with the help of thunderbolt in the hands of Indra (Vajrapani). The Uḍras living in the Subdued Plateaus and Rolling Uplands were living in the same condition of the Tibetans of Bon Religion. So it is not impossible that the tantrin at Sambala was recognised as Indrabhuti. It is astonishing, in the Sonpur Grant of Satrubhanja. There was a donee named Akhandala, son of Mahodadhi. In this Grant, there is also mention of his native place, but, the names, Akhandala and Mahodadhi connote a relation of Indra with water. Of course, during the period from 4th to 10th Century A.D. the Brahmacaris immigrated into Orissa were tantrins. Most probably, due to popularity of Indra a Brahmacari was recognised by a synonym of Indra.

We have seen above that Kalingas were leading towards becoming Indra and Dirghatamas had aryanised Orissa and had introduced Bhagavastism. So also in the South Agastya is said to hâve introduced Indra worship and particularly, he had done it to save Kāvirippumpattinam. For the same purpose of draught Indra worship is popular in Orissa.

Indra is not only one, in the sense of tantrin, Indras were many. It has reference to one episode of the Mahabharata as to why Draupadi became wife of five husbands (Adi-Parva, CXCVII and CLXIX). Draupadi in her previous birth was the daughter of a *Ruṣi*. In order to obtain a husband she propitiated Śiva with austerities. Śiva became pleased and offered a boon to her. She requested Śiva for five times and for each time she was granted a husband. They were Pandavas. Pandavas were Indras. Again, it goes that Indra

went to the Mount Himavanta to meet Śiva. Indra reached there and accosted him rudely but awed him. Śiva pointed out to a cave where in were four other Indras. Indra was astonished. Śiva explained him that these five Indras would be born in human shape in order to reduce the over-population of the world and Laxmi would be their common wife. Sarala Mahabharata of Oriya is packed up with episodes in connection with Indra. Among all characters of the Sarala Mahabharata Indra has been held high. It would be seen later (*Infra*, Ch. V).

In these episodes Indra is five Prānas of austerity and Śiva is above him. Indras were controlled by austerity and alchemic preparations. Dimbesvara Sarma on the basis of Reghuvamsa III. 62 and III.41 of Kalidasa says, "Indra through his hundred eyes sees everything which is not easy for all. Such a vision has entitled him to a higher plane of life. He earned for him the higher plane by dint of his merit of austerity, for a foot is set everywhere. Indraṭṭva, therefore, has nothing untoward about it and is the culmination of a very high development, but not the highest of the human potentiality. This is the result of virtue accruing out of inconceivable sacrifice made as an ordinary mortal being and it symbolises nothing but a high degree of perfection, which, therefore, is subject to degradation at any time."

It may be said that the Kalingas (Surya Bhagas) and the Tamilakas (Indra-Bhagas) were in an lower plane of austerity than that of the Uḍras (Śiva-Bhagas). In ancient time the Tamilakas, aryanised by Agastya, and the Kalingas, aryanised by Dirghatamas, had inter-change of cultural trends. To this V.V. Raman Sastri says, "it is a tradition in South India that an alchemist named Bhaga, a pre-Christian Taoist immigrant, had taught the method of reverberation and projection to the tantrins." The traditional Bhaga of China may be a Kalingā. It is doubtful if ever any Chinese had any opportunity to come over Tamilakam to teach alchemic preparation. Nagarjuna and Bhagavatapadācarya are said to have used alchemicals for perfection in austerity. In tribal culture of Orissa, the 'Mantragadus' are now using herbs, shrubs, roots and tubers in magico-religious purposes and in the sophisticated society, there is a caste named 'Putulivania' is living on alchemic preparation. Besides, it is known that the Emperor Ming-Ti of China had sent an embassy through Central Asia to Khotan to procure the things requisite for the practice of the new religion (Buddhism). The emissaries—eighteen in number—left the imperial court in the year A.D. 65, and returned in 67, accompanied by two monks, Kasiapa Matanga and Gobharana, as well as. In possession of Buddha images and scriptures. Then Fa Hsien (A.D. 399-413), Yuan Chuang (A.D. 629645) and I. Tsing (A.D. 671-695) travelled in India. They were religious men, nothing is known about their tantric abilities above the magico practices on alchemic preparations. Such demand might have been fulfilled by a Bhaga of Kalinga in Tamilakam. So, Orissa has become one of the base-lands of Tantricism which was accelerated by immigration of Brahmacaries from the 4th Century A.D. onwards.

Indras as tantrins par excellence were taken into the fold of Buddhism. The Mahayana Buddhism could appropriate Indras and made them known among the people untouched by other influences, but Uḍrayāna as their own. In the Vajrayana, Indra is

determined, as S.B. Dasgupta thinks, as of Vajra nature, his image is Vajra, the *mantras* are Vajra, the worshipper is Vajra, the materials of worship are Vajra, and everything is Vajra. He is Adi Buddha or Buddha Vajradhara, a metamorphosis of the god Indra. Vajra is Linga. He is different from Avalokita, a substitute of Śiva, in the Vajrayana.

The Boudha Vajrayana flourished with Indra and synonymous tantrins, Vajrapani and Indrabhuti of the Uḍras, who are likely to have their cult-spot, Oḍasuni. They habited the land which was called Uḍra Viṣaya and later, in Vajrayana it was recognised as Uḍḍiyānāpitha. In the term 'Uḍḍiyānā pith,' though 'Yāna' is referred to Buddhism, 'pitha' refers to Śaivism. The term 'pitha' was highly discredited in Vajrayana and in its off shoots (Infras, Ch. IV). It has influenced the Nathas and Oriya Santhas. But the term 'Yāna' has been accepted in Śaivism. The Gheranda Samhita mentions, "samagrād vandhanād dvaye taduḍḍiyānam Visisyate" (Lession, III.11). Here Uḍḍiyānā (Ut+dī+sanac) means a system of Yogic practice which means ascension. This has also been glorified in the Hathayoga Pradipika (Ch. III.55). It is as simple as one can be. The procedure of practising this Mudra is to contract the bowles equally above and below the navel towards back. The breath, by this process, is instantly forced up onto the sushumna and moves constantly there in only. This bandha was known also as 'Uḍḍiāṇi'. The Uḍḍiāni Bandha of the Uḍras was credited to their goddess Oḍāsuni.

It is believed that Oḍāsuṇi was the communal deity of the Uḍrasabaras and they were practising austerity meditating on Oḍāsuṇi who has not been mentioned in any Lexicograph. But, as her counter-part. Śiva has been mentioned as Uḍḍiśa. The simple nature of the Bandha shows its primitive stage of practice of Yoga. Time to time the Bandha got its gods of meditation—Śiva and Indra. Gods came for the Bandha accordingly as the Uḍrasavaras evolved into the Uḍra farmer community and into the Hinduized Bhanja family. In the last two stages, matriarchy of the Udras was superceded by patriarchy. The Vajrayana flourished during the period of the Bhanja rulers and appropriating Oḍāsuni, Śiva and indra (Nagesa) set them in their own order as Olasuni, Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani through out Uḍra Viṣaya. To them the whole region of Uḍra Viṣaya became Uḍḍiyānā pitha. As there is controversy regarding location of Uḍḍiyānā pitha—Swat Valley or Orissa; so also there is controversy whether it is Puri or Khiching. P.C. Bhanjadeo and Sadasiva Ratha Sharma are unanimous that Uḍḍiyānā pitha is of the Śaiv origin. Most probably, any renovation came over Kichakesvari at Khiching, the goddess was Oḍāsuni.

During the period of Bhanja rulers their capital has been shifted many times. They started their rule with this tutelary deity naming her Khichingesvari which is simply a sanskritised name. But nothing is known about who was sanskritised. as P.C. Bhanjadeo attaches much importance on the deity as the presiding deity of Uḍḍiyānāpitha, she is likely to have been the presiding deity of his Uḍra ancestors in the name of Oḍāsuni. The Vajrayana has appropriated Uḍḍiyāna of Śaivism and has made it recognised as Uḍḍiyanāpith inside and outside Orissa, and the tantrins became popular by various synonyms;—Vajrapani, Indrabhuti and Indradyumna, of Indra to conduct the fate of Śaivism of Orissa.

17
Chandesa

Chandesa, like Kanappan and Sirutondar, belongs to Tirumular's category of *Kadum Suddhas* whose sole purpose in life was the service of Śiva with unquestioning faith and love. His sainthood, like theirs, was the outcome of a single dramatic incident which evokved divine intervention. The young cowhered Chandesa was a great lover of Śiva whom he worshipped in the symbolic form of the linga. Each day after he had attended to the needs of the cows entrusted to his care, Chandesa built a Śiva Linga with mud and worshipped it by bathing it with milk of the cows. Hearing complaints about the misuse of milk, Chandesa's father went out to reprimand his son. But the devoted cowherd was so totally absorbed in the worship of Śiva that he remained unaware of his father's arrival and his reproachful words. Enraged at being ignored, the father kicked at the Śiva Linga and broke it. Instinctively, Chandesa aimed his staff at the intruder's legs, upon which the staff miraculously turned into the sacres axe of Śiva and his father fell to the ground. Pleased by this display of complete and single-minded devotion to him, Śiva is said to have appeared before Chandesa and promised to be a father to him; Chandesa's own penitent father was given back the use of his legs. Śiva and Parvati are said to have blessed Chandesa with a garland, and it is believed that he secured a place beside Śiva forever.

Among the may Śaivites on whom the story of Chandesa left a deep imprint was the Chola emperor Rajaraja. In the twenty-ninth year of his reign (AD 1014) he presented to the Tanjavur temple a small eight-piece copper group celebrating the Chandesa episode. A Śiva Linga, standing Chandesa and a prostrate father (5-1/2 inches long) depicted the earlier phase of the story; a seven-inch kneeling Chandesa, a four-armed Śiva (sixteen inches high) accompained by Parvati, and twelve-inch garland which Chandesa received as blessing, portrayed its culmination. Unfortunately, this unique group of images is no longer in the temple, and no other similar group is known to exist. Rajaraj's son Rajendra also seems to have been deeply impressed by Chandesa's devotion. A large stone panel in his temple at Gnagaikondacholapuram portrays Śiva and Parvati blessing the kneeling Chandesa and garlanding him, while little vignettes flanking the main panel depict the ealier incidents of the story, including the cows being tended and the worship of the mud Liṅga.

Impressive as was the story of Chandesa, the reason for the existence of a surprisingly large number of bronze images of Chandesa lies elsewehre. Four hundred years after his "death" and "canonization," during the Chola period, Chandesa was given a new personality when he began to be regarded as the guardian and supervisor of Śiva temple. We have seen earlier that may shrines celebrated by the Nayanmars were only sanctified lingas under trees. Others, referred to as *koyils,* were probably built of brick. These temples were mostly in the districts of Tanjavur and Tiruchirapalli where stone in scarce. From the ninth century onwards, the Chola kings gradually began converting these ancient sacred shrines into stone structures. A supervising agent was needed to ensure that the sanctity of the shrine was maintained during reconstruction, and a broze image of Chandesa Nayanar, who was visualized as the divine supervisor, was cast and placed in a small shrine within the grounds of every Śiva temple. In a sense it was natural to choose Chandesa for the post of guardian and supervisor. After all, had he not guarded and protected his own humble and ling, violently thwarting the attempt to destroy it ! Since many temples were renovated in Chola times, a correspondingly large number of Chandesa images were made.

Upon Chandesa was also laid the responsibility of ensuring the correct and faithful recopying of all existing temple inscriptions. The long-departed Chandesa further played the role of divine financial agent, dispensing and collecting all temple money. There are several hundred temple inscriptions which record these transactions of Chandesa, and one such eleventh-century record from the Tanjavur temple reads:

We have received from Chandesvara who is the first

servant (*adi-dasan*) of the Supreme Lord...
500 *kasu* out of the money which was deposited...

To this day, Chandesa is regarded as the guardian of Śiva temples and their possessions. As worshippers leave the grounds of a Śiva temple, they are expected to stop in front of Chandesa shrine and clap their hands to draw Chandesa's attention to the fact that their hands are empty and they are not misappropriating temple property ! Chandesa's character as temple guardian, as "the first servant of the Supreme Lord", overshadows his earlier cowherd life of devotion to Śiva. Since both Appar and child saint Sambandar allude to Chandesa in their seventh-century poems, the cowherd lad may be assigned to the sixth century.

Bronzes of Chandesa tend to be stereotyped and depict the young lad standing with palms together in salutation and holding the ubuquitous axe in the crook of his arm. His matted locks are generally piled upon his head like a crown, though sometimes his hair hangs down in curls upon his shoulders and he is often given a small halo. He is richly adorned with necklaces, and frequently holds a string of flowers between his folded palms as a offering to his Lord. Chandesa's axe was often cast as a detached piece and placed in the crook of his arm and is hence missing in several bronzes. An inscription of AD 1014, speaking of the gift of a twenty-seven inch Chandesa image to the Tanjavur

temple, specifies that an axe nine inches long was cast separately; a solid aureoloa (*tiruvatchi*), seventy-eight inches in diameter was similarly cast. The donor further gifted a girdle of three strings strung with ninety three pearls, six corals and six lapis to this Chandesa image, and other devotees made further gifts of single strings to be added to this already sumptuous girdle. We shall see in a later chapter that inscriptions in the Tanjavur temple indicate that it was the practice to make offerings of jewellery to all the saints; even the simple and humble saint Appar received a garland of *rudrāksha* beads and a pair of gold armlets.

Images of Chandesa were made to serve three different purposes and it is this that accounts for the existence of Chandesa bronzes in such large numbers. Firstly, the saint had to take his place in the group of sixty-three Nayanmars; he had then to be placed in an independent shrine within the temple compound and fulfil his supervisory duties; in addition, Chandesa images were also made specially for temple festival celebrations. Images of the divine family, Śiva, Devi, Skanda and Ganesa were carried in procession, with Gandesa bringing up the rear, and the five images were referred to as *pancha murtis.* Large temples would thus possess three images of this saint.

Cheraman Perumal

Cheraman Perumal, a ruler in the Kerala country, was a contemporary and close friend of Sundarar, the third of the famous *Nalvar.* Despite his having been a reigning monarch, we have surpisingly little information about his life and times and have to rely on Sundarar's dates to place him in the eighth century. The two friends together made several tours through temple country, and when the time came for Sundarar to leave this world, Cheraman was relcutant to be left behind. The story goes that when Sundarar mounted the white elephant sent by Śiva and if flew up into the sky, Chermaman whispered the *na-ma-si-va-ya* mantra in the ear of his horse, whereupon it magically followed the elephant. Both *saints* are said to have jointed Śiva in his celestial abode, mount Kailasa. The eleventh-century paintings around the shrine of the great temple at Tanjavur depict this episode, portraying Cheraman on his horse and Sundarar on the elephant.

Cherman's three long hymns are included in the miscellaneous collection of poems by various saints which comprises the eleventh book of the Śaiva canon. The royal saint chose to address Śiva through the *aham* or love-poetry genre, in much the same mode as his contemporary Sundarar. In his poem *Ponvanna Tiruvantati,* Cheraman describes the spell cast over young girls by Śiva in his form of the "enchanting mendicant," a form that was greatly favoured by Sundarar as well. A verse from this poem by Cheraman describes one such love-stricken maiden dreaming of Śiva:

Alms in hand
she walks
expectantly
hoping to come

face to face
with Iśa

Suddenly
her mother pulls her back
the while saying
to the other maidens
"Is she not crazy
this friend of yours
In love with a madman?"

The girl daydreams
All alone is she—
Iśa of the matted locks
calls to her
to come to him—
She loses herself
in languor

Then the sudden pull
the sound and she's awake
her eyes wide open.

Cheraman also used the poetic mode the *Ula* Or "festival", which bards had used for several past centuries in various royal courts to celebrate the ritual processions of the monarch. In his *Tirukailaya Jnana-Ula*, Cheraman adapted this mode to glorify Śiva the Supreme Sovereign. Describing Śiva's dazzling beauty, his shining silks and glittering ornaments, his flowers and his fragrance, Cheraman proclaims him the sole Lord. Then follow details of the preparations for the Lord's procession. With a fanciful turn of phrase, Cheraman depicts the wind god Vayu blowing the streets clean and the rain god sprinkling it with holy waters, Murugan riding his peacock in front of the Lord, with Indra on his white elephant bringing up the rear, and moon god Chandra upholdings Śiva's regal parasol. Cheraman pictures this magnificent procession moving down the streets; he describes girls and women of all ages from the seven years old innocent (*pendai*) to the mature beauty (*perilàmpen*) decked in fine clothing and jewellery. Transfixed by the radiance of the Divine Sovereign, they gaze at him with love-laden hearts. This highly descriptive but charming poem also contains verses that testify to a deeper philosophic basis for Cheraman's *bhakti*. He visualizes Śiva, as did Sambandar and Appar before him, as the Supreme Being containing within himself all aspects of the divine:

As Hira he protects
As Ayan he creates

As Hara he destroys
All only he.

In another verse, almost as if paraphrasing a verse from the *Bhagavadgita*, Cheraman expresses the sentiment that the Supreme Being, although visualised by him as Śiva, may be worshipped in any form.

In whatsoever form
whosoever
in his innermost mind
continuously
visualises him,
In that form
He will give them
grace.

In addition to being invoked as one of the complete group of saints, Cheraman is also worshipped independently. An inscription in the Somanathaswami temple at Nidur, dated in the forty-sixth years of Kulotunga (Ad 1117), refers to a shrine built in honour of Cheraman and testifies to the special status the royal saint had acquired among the Nayanmars. When taking his place as one of the sixty-three saints, Cheraman is depicted as a standing crowned figures; however, independent images frequently portray him upon his horse.

18
The Cidambaram Myth

Every major South India temple has its own legend, its local version of mythology. That of Cidambaram is found principally in the Sanskrit *Cidambara Māhātmya* and in the Tamil version of the *Cidambara Māhātmya*, the *Kōyil Purāṇam*, one of the earliest Tamil *sthalapurāṇas*. The *sthalapurāṇa* forms the subject of the ceiling paintings on the north side of the *maṇḍapa* of the Śivakāmasundari shrine in the temple, paintings which like the *maṇḍapa* itself probably date from the late seventeenth century. The story is also told in paintings on the ceiling of the veranda round the Cit Sabhā, which like the veranda probably from the late nineteenth century. It is highly probable that the *sthalapurāṇa* was portrayed in paintings in Umāpati's day. Nothing can be said of these paintings, but it is likely that his imagination would have had visual prompting and affirmation of the reality of events.

The Cidambaram myth is at the same time the myth of the *ānandatāṇḍava*, and is essentially a reworking of the well known Pine Forest myth but, unlike its model which is found in several Sanskrit Purāṇas, does not seem to be known outside Cidambaram until modern times. The central episode concerns Śiva's visit as wandering beggar to the sages in the Pine Forest. He is accompained by Viṣṇu in the form of a beautiful woman. Together they arouse the lusts of the sages and their wives. When attacked by entities from the sages' sacrificial fire, Śiva takes them as his attributes. He then dances the Ānanda Tāṇḍava for the first time. The repeat performance of this dance is awaited in Cidambaram by two sages, one of them Patañjali, an incarnation of Śeṣa, Viṣṇu's serpent, the second, Vyāghrapāda, otherwise unknown. They worship the *liṅga* while they wait. Finally, there is an account of a mythical king from the north, who, gaining a golden skin, move to Cidambaram, rebuilds the temple, the institutes rituals and festivals.

The story begins with an account of Vyāghrapāda, 'Tigerfoot,' who worships the original *liṅga* of the Mūlasthāna ('The Original Place'), while awaiting the performance in this world age of the Tāṇḍava Dance. His name, which has the prestige of Vedic occurrence, is probably to be explained by the original, or at least alternative, name of Cidambaram, Vyāghrapura, 'Tigertown'.

Once Madhyandana's son,
worshipped Śiva's excellent *liṅga*

obtained by His grace the paws of a tiger.
Through His compassion
he was able to bring to his son
the Ocean of Milk and feed him on it;

and he beheld in the Hall
His supreme dance.
I worship the God
Who is the Lord of the Hall of Consciousness,
Whose qualities are praised in the scriptures,
Whose foot is curved. (10)

The sage worships the original *liṅga* in the Tillai forest of Cidambaram every day with offerings of flowers, but the bees spoil them, and he seeks and gains the boon of having tigerpaws instead of hands and feet, and also an eye on each paw, so that he can climb trees for the best flowers. He marries the sister of the famous Vedic *ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha, and begets Upamanyu, who is widely known in the Purāṇas as a teacher of Śaivism, but figures here only in receiving milk directly from Śiva. The gift is lavish, for it is no less than the Milk Ocean.

The other half of the dual act of principal devotees in the *sthalapurāṇa* is taken up by Patañjali, said to be the human form of Viṣṇu's supporting snake, Śeṣa. The form of Viṣṇu at Cidambaram, as in the great Viṣṇu temple of Śriraṅgam, is that of Śeṣaśayana, Viṣṇu outstretched on the coils of the snake 'Remainder.' It is thus that the god floats on the water of undifferentiated matter during the period between destruction and creation of the universe.

Once, meditating on His dance
Viṣṇu's body doubled in weight
and Śeṣa, his support, had his body squeezed.
Śeṣa drank the wine of what had happened
from the lotus of Viṣṇu's mouth.

and practising very severe penance
reached His Holy Place
via the tunnel mouth of the Silver mountain
and witnessed the dance in the Sabhā. (11)

Because of the bliss of meditation on Śiva, Viṣṇu's body becomes heavier. When Viṣṇu wakes up, he tells his two queens, Śri and Bhūmi (Prosperity and the Earth), and also Śeṣa, what happened on the preceding day. When he went to pay his daily respects to Śiva, Śiva told him that they were going to test the married ascetics in the Pine Forest. Viṣṇu is told to assume the form of an entracing woman and Śiva goes as a handsome beggar. The sages are enamoured of Mohinī, Viṣṇu as the Enchantress, and their wives enamoured of Bhikṣāṭana, the Wandering Beggar. The older sages, angered at the

instruction and disruption, produce means of attack from their sacrificial fire: tiger, deer, axe, mantras, dwarf. All are of no avail, and Śiva takes them for himself, and an explanation is thus given for details of his iconography. He then performs the wonderful Ānanda Tāṇḍava dance. Śeṣa is very anxious to see this for himself, and, following Viṣṇu's instructions, leaves his son as his depty and takes human form as Patañjali. He descends into the subterranean world of the Nāgas and enters a tunnel which leads up into Cidambaram. By this manoeuvre of the narrative Cidambaram is shown to be atop the cosmic mountain, although in fact it lies on a coastal plain. On arriving at Cidambaram, he meets Vyāghrapāda, and the pair wait for the performance of the Dance. Specific temples in Cidambaram house the *liṅgas* they set up and worshipped while waiting for the Dance.

Umāpati chooses not to refer to the *ṛṣis'* attack on Śiva in the *kuñcitāṅghristava.* The very idea of an attack on Śiva is not in consonance with the poem. It is also a material factor that there is no iconography of this event; it is only rarely represented in art, being a transition between the two key iconogaphies of Southern Śaivism, Naṭarāja and Bhikṣāṭana.

Umāpati's next reference to the *sthalapurāṇa* is this:

In the beginning
on a full-moon Thursday in the month of the Deer,
under the Puṣya lunar asterism,
to fulfil the promise
won by the those excellent sages' asceticism,

He summoned Snake-bodied Patañjali
and the great sage, Tiger-footed Vyāghrapāda,
and performed His dance
against the wall
in the blessed Hall of Consciousness.

After it was over,
He granted them permanent residence. (8)

Thus ends the first half of the *sthalapurāṇa.* Śiva's performance for the two sages is represented by a majestic panel on the ceiling of the Śivakāmasundari shrine, unfortunately now greatly damaged.

The last major part of the *sthalapurāṇa* is the story of Hiraṇyavaraman, the King from the North, perhaps from Bengal, as the region is called Gauda. An important event in that story is the King bringing priests from the North to Cidamabaram. Within the story they are the original priests, who left Cidambaram at Brahmā's request to attend his sacrifice. It is with Brahmā's decision to perform a sacrifice that the second half of the text begins.

When Indra was summoned
to Self-born Brahmā's sacrifice in Antarvedi
where the hymns of the Sāma Veda were loudly sung,
he did not come.

As soon as Brahmā learned that the lord of the gods
was watching His pure dance
Brahmā went himself in great haste to Indra

and by His overruling command
brought him back alongwith the Brahmans
and performed his sacrifice
amid the praises of the gods. (47)

Antravedi, literally '(the area) within the sacrificial ground', is the Doab the district between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, region of North India of Particular sanctity, especially perhaps from the perspective of South India.

Clearly, one aim of the story can be seen to justify the presence of priests in Cidambaram who hail from the Gauḍa region. Indeed, a high status is claimed for them, since Brahmā intended to invite the gods, but they all refused to leave Cidambaram where they were watching the dance of Śiva; and at Vyāghrapāda's suggestion the priests are sent in their stead. The story would seem to confuse officiating priests with the recipients of the sacrifice.

Brahmā of a Hundred Sacrifices
performed a sacrifice in great Antarvedi,
a sacrifice that took a thousand years to complete.
In that assembly at Vyāghrapāda's behest
the chief ascetics were present.

So that they could continue to worship Him
He gladly sent a Dancer made of precious stone
arisen from the best of fires.

He is the source of that image,
His crown is of nine jewels.
His foot is curved.
I worship Him.

(16)

The second part of the verse adds information not found in the *Cidambara Māhātmya* or *Kōyil Purāṇam*. Śiva, to compensate the Dikṣitas for their absence from his

temple, gives them the Ruby Naṭraja, Ratnasabhāpati, that features in the daily ritual today. At about 10.45 a.m., after the second *abhiṣeka* of the crystal Liṅga, there is *abhiṣeka* of the Ratnasabhapāti, and most notably, a camphor lamp is moved five times behind this to cm high ruby image, to shine through it, so that it glows red with all the details of its form made manifest. This takes place on the east side of the Sabhā, and in modern times a special roof has been built on pillars in this part of the courtyard solely for this event. My friend Parameśvara Dīkṣita took pride in his 4 years old son performing this lamp action with a small Naṭarāja in his home, and stressed to me that his son's skill was untaught and innate.

The next verse to be cited contains all the essential details concerning Hiraṇyavarman.

Siṃhavarman, Lord of Gauḍa,
distressed by his diseased body,
came from his own land
to be freed from affliction
by bathing in the excellent water
with its clumps of golden lotuses—
thereupon becoming
the blessed Hemavarman,

Witnessing, in company of the best ascetics,
the dance of Śambhu, Śiva the mild,
for Whom he built
a wonderful jewelled temple. (13)

Brahmā's sacrifice formed the introduction to the last part of the *sthalapurāṇa.* Mention of the king himself is delayed by an account of the creation of the world. The fifth king of the Sund dynasty is the mighty Lokeśavikrama. His eldest son Siṃhavarman (Lion-prowess) is a leper and does not feel fit to succeed to the throne. Instead, he devotes himself to asceticism, with the unspoken aim of finding a cure. In due course he makes his way south and meets a seated sage of awesome aspect who proves to be Vyāghrapāda, in *samādhi* from the last world age. The sage take the prince to Cidambaram, and on Śiva's advice the prince bathes in the Śiva-Gaṅgā tank. He comes out of the water shining like gold, and is henceforth Hiraṇya or Hema varman, 'Golden Prowess.' Vyāghrapāda and his wife adopt the prince as their son. Then as a mass of radiance from the sky Vasiṣṭha, family priest of Hiraṇyavarman's father, arrives. He tell him his father is too old to rule, and he must return to rule the kingdom. The prince does not wish to, but Vyāghrapāda tell him to transfer his army and his subjects to Cidambaram, and to bring back the priests from Antarvedi. He does so and then rebuilds the temple. Patañjali writes his textbook festival. As wish the end of the first half, this conclusion is grandly portrayed in the seventeenth-century ceiling painting; unlike the former, it is undamaged but is in the darkest corner of the *maṇḍapa.*

All but one of the verses so far considered come from a small block near the beginning of the poem (verses 8-16). Consideration of this group will show the poem's handling and distortion of exterior narrative order.

In verse 8, the promise in made to Śeṣa that he will see the dance. In verse 9 we have the description of the performance of the promised dance (quoted chapter I, p. 19). Verse 10 reverts to the opening episode of the *Cidambara Māhātmya,* referring to Vyāghrapāda gaining his tiger's feet and his son feeding on the milk sent by Śiva, before again mentioning the dance performance of verse 9. Verse 11 gives the antecedents likewise of Patañjali prior to the performance. Verse 12 concerns Jaimini, another sage who witnesses the dance, making the due to Vyāghrapāda and Patañjali into a trio; referred to only incidentally in the *sthalapurāṇa,* when Vyāghrapāda gives his own mini *sthalapurāṇa* to the prince. Verse 13 summarises the final section of the *Cidambara Māhātmya.* All these verses refer to the witnessing of particular performances of the Ānanda Taṇḍava. Verse 14 tells of Patañjali writing the ritual manual for the Dīkṣitas; verse 15 the daily *pūjā*; verse 16 Brahmā's sacrifice. The last three form a transition into the next block (17-27) which gives a coherent account of the temple's ritual.

In the beginning the blessed Lord of Serpents,
Patañjali taking precepts
from varied places in the endless scriptures
in a way that none could emulate,
composed tha Sūtra for
the worship, festivals and aspersions
of the Dancer,

So that in the way that he has stated
the three thousand Brahmans forever
honour the Lord of Dancers. (14)

The *sthalapurāṇa* says that Hiraṇyavarman had the book when completed carried round the city to the sound of trumpets before installing it in the Sabhā (25.51-2). It may well be that the two texts were composed at the same time. Verse 12 in another literary reference:

The yogi named Jaimini who first attained fame
through his commentary on the ritual section of the Vedas,
at Vyāsa's behest
prostrated himself
before the excellent Lord, the Lord of the Hall,

entered into the Hall
and composed the excellent hymn of praise

wherein every verse ends with a quote from the Veda.
Even today he dwells in the Hall
beholding the God
Who gave him his good fortune,
Whose foot is curved,
Whom I worship. (12)

Association with Jaimini brings a vicarious authenticity. The ultra orthodox Pūrva Mīmāṃsā stands behind the temple which practices 'Vedic' rituals; and his poem of praise is steeped in the Vedas. Our poet is deeply interested in other poets, he follows their example, and their example adds significance to his own work. Jaimini is mentioned again in the company of several other devotees:

The God swayed by devotion to Himself.
Who gave salvation to Pulkasa and the Brahman,
to the son of Valkala, to the man called Nanda,
and to the wise man who thought his own eye mere grass,

and Who gave eternal presence in Cidambaram
to Vyāghrapāda,
to the famous serpent-lord Patañjali,
and to Jamini author of the hymn,

and thus fulfilled all their desires,
Him, ageless and immortal,
Whose foot is curved
I worship. (29)

In the addition to the trio of sages already considered, Umāpati refers here to two specific episodes of the *sthalapurāṇa*, namely that of Pulkasa and that of Vālkali. The two Saints, Nada (Tamil form, Nantanār) and Kaṇṇappār who gave his eye to the *liṅga*, are among the sixty-three *saints* (Nāyanārs) celebrated in the *Periya Purāṇam*. Nantanār is disussed below, and Kaṇṇappār in chapter 9). Pulkasa and Valikali are of little moment in themselves, but belong to significant strata of the *sthalapurāṇa*. The *Cidambara Māhātmya* gives the following account of Pulkasa. Pulkasa is the name of an evil man who kills a family of Brahmans and then robs travellers. He makes friends with a Brahman and gives him half his money. The Brahman is pleased to get the money, but admonished Pulkasa for his wickedness. Pulkasa then sees the error of his ways, and becomes depressed. The Brahman advises him to go to Cidambaram, the best of holy places, where the Lord of Ambikā dances. As soon as he sees the Little Hall in the distance he is to prostrate himself on the ground. He is to give away his wealth to both Yogins and men in the world, and to strenuously protect the place from danger.

Full of faith Pulkasa goes to Cidambaram, accompained by the Brahman despite their difference in caste. Pulkasa gives away all his wealth to Yogins and others. When he sees in the distance the heavenly Little Hall (*dabhrasabhā*) of wonderful glory, he pays homage at a distance of 5 *Krośas,* and remains there continuing to do homage, full of joy, and protecting that place. In the course of time he dies, and after enjoying the delights of heaven attains supreme salvation. So too does the Brahman, it is briefly added.

Kulke, in his painstaking analysis of the *Cidambara Māhātmya,* which will shortly be referred to in detail, overlooks the fact that the story of Pulkasa is taken from the *Sūta Saṃhitā* (1.4.17-39) and tries to argue that it is based on another story from that text, namely the story of Durghata. The version in the *Cidambara Māhātmya* differs from its source only in that Sūta's reference to his audience, 'O Brahmans!' and so on, are removed and the phrasing altered to preserve the metre; and the interesting detail is lost that the Brahman who befriends Pulkasa is a brothel-keeper (*gaṇikāpali*). Two other sinners with interesting specific details are mentioned in the *Puṇḍarīkapura Māhātmya,* though they too have generic nomenclature—Durmata and Duḥsaha. The real interest, however, in the story of Pulkasa is in its contrast with that of Nanda, although both were of low caste. Nanda's story is here given according to the *Hemasabhānātha Māhātyma,* which devotes its ninth chapter to this Nāyanār. Nanda was renowned for saying that he would visit Cidambaram 'tomorrow', but his constant toil as a labourer did not allow time. Even when at last he goes, his family seek to restrain him since such a holy place is not for the likes of them. Once there he does not pass through the courtyard gate but dwells outside. Daily he circumambulates the city, oppressed by the fact his caste is an impediment to seeing God. To succour (*rakṣitum*) him, Śiva with smiling face comes to him in a dream and tells him that by entering fire he will conquer his caste and be able to worship him alongside the Brahman. The Śiva came to the Brahmans of Cidambaram and said to them in their dream, 'If any person of the lowest cast should enter fire tomorrow, let him be honoured by you.' The perfect priests had a fire lit at the entrance and went into the temple.

'I am a slave and yet am I fortunate,' declared Nanda, and with joyful devotion he entered the fire. He lost his previous body and took on the glory of a Brahman. Chaste, pure, his upper body clad only with the sacred thread, reciting the Vedas came forth the fire, and as the gods showered down flowers entered the temple to be seen no more, having won identity with Śiva.

Especially for readers familiar with the Nāyanārs, there is a marked difference between the story of Nanda and that of Pulkasa, extending even to their names. The factitious quality of the latter means that his caste is all the name he needs. The *Cidambara Māhātmya* even leaves out the detail of the Brahman's occupation. Partly perhaps its redactors did not want to diminish the power of the central narrative by adding distracing details; and certainly not by introducing the well known Nāyanārs. The story they had to tell was new, and its success was not assured.

We have still to deal with the sons of Valkasa. He is known from the *Cidambara Māhātmya* as a demon who defeated Indra, since Śiva had given him the boon of being unconquerable (7.17). More details are given in 41:

Once in the past when Indra, lord of the gods,
had his fine body struck by one called Vālkali
he resorted to Viṣṇu and told him what had happened to him;

with Viṣṇu, foe of Mura,
he came to this holy place and worshipped the Lord;

through His pure pity
he obtained great strength and slew his foe. (41)

According to Kulke this episode, part of Vyāghrapāda's father's discourse to his son, is an interpolation, a Northern Vaiṣṇava text inserted into the original narrative, with only minimal changes. Kulke is clearly correct that the narrative was originally Vaiṣṇava, but there is no good reason to suppose that it was not part of the original mix of ingredients used to construct the *Cidambara Māhātmya.* It explains the presence of Viṣṇu in Cidambaram, and Viṣṇu is to play an important part in subsequent events—as Mohini in the Dāruka Forest. It also refers to Viṣṇu bringing the Milk Ocean with him to Cidambaram. Kulke himself remarks that 'the account of the Vaiṣṇava origin of the Milk Ocean in Cidambaram was probably one of the motives for connecting the Vyāghrapāda legend in the *Cidambara Māhātmya* the subsequent event–Śiva bringing the Milk Ocean for the benefit of Upamanya–is give more sectarian point by the earlier reference to the rival Vaiṣṇava event.

The appropriateness of the story of the Milk Ocean here prompts a reconsideration of the whole question of Upamanyu, who is again referred to near the end of the poem:

Tigerfoot's baby boy obtained
the very pleasant ocean to milk
by constantly praising the desirable Lord
Who dances in the heavened (306)

Kulke thus summarises his own position:

The starting point of the Vyāghrapāda-legend is seen in the Sanskritization of a Tamil name of Cidambaram, 'Puliyūr,' as 'Yyāghrapura.' Thus, the legend of the Muni Vyāghrapāda was created, who up to this time has been known only as the father of Upamanyu, a *saint* of MBh XIII, 14. The Vyāghrapāda legend, created in Cidambaram, was brought into connection with this well known Upamanyu legend.

Yet it is not impossible that the legend is entirely Southern in origin. Its inclusion in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* may be questioned. The editor of the *Anuśāsana Parvan,*

R.N. Dandekar, remarks, 'it is certainly strange that the well known Upamanyu episode...should not have found place in the *Āndhra Bhāratamu*. The relevant part of this Telegu adaptation was written by Tikkana Somayāji (1200-80); I suggest the Upamanyu episode is a manifestly late insertion in the *Mahābhārata*, and that its origin is precisely a Śaiva take over of the Milk Ocean, though Cidambaram may not be the earliest site for the attempt.

A related incident is the story (found in the twelfth-century *Periya Purāṇam*) of the first *Tēvāram* poet, Campantar being fed with the milk from Umā's breast in a golden cup. The 3 years old's father was alarmed to see milk trickling from his mouth, and demanded to know who had fed him, fearful of pollution from a lower caste. The opening hymn of the *Tēvāram* is said to be the poet's reply to this question. A verse in another humn is a more direct reference:

When I was rebuked by my angry father,
who rejected as a harmful thing
the sweet dish of wisdom
served in a flowerlike golden cup,
the great Lord possessed me.

Upamanyu was a noted Śaiva teacher, as in the *Vāyaîya Saṃhitā* of the *Śiva Purāṇa* text for which Umāpati is said to have written a sommentary; and supposedly the author of a Sanskrit version of the lives of the Tamil *saints*, the *Upamanyubhaktavilāsa*, and the *Mahābhārata*— a late insertion as noted above—the teacher of the worship of Śiva to Kṛṣṇa, mentioned by Umāpati in verse 54.

The central episode of the Cidambaram legend where Śiva appears as Bhikṣāṭana is considered in depth in Chapter 7. We have not yet considered the date of the *Cidambara Māhātmya*. We shall now look at Kulke's dating on the basis of his higly systematic analysis; and at the account of its composition offered by one of Umāpati's biographers, Śivānandanātha Dikṣta, who credits not only the Tamil version but the Sanskrit original to Umāpati.

Kulke claimed to discover a historical core to the sequence of events. He suggests that Siṃhavarman, the king from Gauḍa who gains a golden skin in the Śivagaṅga tank and rebuilds Cidambaram, was based on the Cōla king Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1118). This hypothesis hinges on a few small points. Siṃhavarman's father is named Lokendravikrama, and is further described as *bhāgīrathīpūraparipanthin*. Kulke suggests that this was in fact Rājendra I, who captured this river Gaṅgā, and thereafter established a new palace and temple called the City of the Conqueror of the Gaṅgā (Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōlapuram, 54 km by road west of Cidambaram). This conquest of the Gaṅgā was no more than a raiding party led by one of his generals; but it is this Cōla king and no other who is to be distinguished by the epithet. He was the great grandfather of Kulōttuṅga I. A minor but puzzling detail of the narrative of the *Cidambara Māhātmya* is the Vyāghrapāda adopts Hiraṇyavarman. Kulke sees this as the legitimation of an outsider,

and connects it with the claim of Kulōttuṅga's court poet, Jayakoṇṭar, that the East Cāḷukyan Kulōttuṅga was named as crown prince by the Cōla Virarājendra.

Kulke relies on two other details for his *post quem* dating—a close correspondence between what he sees as an interporated reference to a Varuṇa festival in the month of Māgha and an inscription of Naralōkaviran (pre-1128/1129) concerning the building of a *maṇḍapa* by the sea, and road to it, for that same festival. Further, Kulke takes VII, 30 (misprinted in his book as VI, 30) to refer to the Viṣṇu shrine in Cidambaram.

The foregoing arguments are persuasive, but what is absolutely crucial for Kulke's bold claim that *Cidambara Māhātmya* is an example of 'an historical king's biography being transformed into a legend during his lifetime' is his assumption that after Kulōttuṅga II (1135-50) removed the image of Viṣṇu from Cidambaram there was no such sculpture there until it was replaced by Acyutadeva Rāya (1529-42). The only *ante quem* evidence is that the *Cidambara Māhātmya* must have been written before Kulōttuṅga II removed the image. However, the image is in place in Umāpati's time:

Even today to His right
Viṣṇu in his jewelled shrine
is lying on the couch of the coils
of the five-headed Lord of Snakes
with his feet to the south and his face to the north

Although he is always asleep.
he constantly meditates
on His praiseworthy foot. (42)

At present Govindarāja is lying in the opposite direction, that is, Viṣṇu's face is directed towards the south and his feet are in the north. There is no set rule as to which way that Śeṣaśayana Viṣṇu should be oriented, but the dual shrines in Cidambaram are a special case, and the head to the north, pointing to the Cit Sabhā, is a sign of submission to Śiva; to the south as at present, the reverse, a mark of Vaiṣṇava Acyutadeva Rāya.

It follows from Umāpati's reference to the Viṣṇu shrine that the *Cidambara Māhātmya* could have been written at any time after the *post quem* dates suggested by Kulke. It should also be remembered that the building in Cidambaram in Kulōttuṅga I's reign was due principally to the general or warlord Naralōkarviran. Kulke closely follows Nilakanta Sastri, the historian of the Cōlas, but passes over the fact that Kulōuttuṅga II had an extensive building programme in Cidambaram Sastri declares, 'The renovation of the temple and city of Cidambaram is, in fact, the best known event of the reign.'

The *Rājendrapura Māhātmya* by Śivānandanātha Dikṣita, a life of Umāpati of uncertain date, its title taken from the place of Umāpati's *āśrama*, gives a different view of the composition of the *sthalapurāṇa*.

One day the priest on duty was opening the door for the night *pūjā* when it was discovered that the Lord of the Sabhā and Ambā had disappeared ! Hearing this incredible news the excellent sages, every one of them, assembled in the Deva Sabhā and reflected on the matter. They came to the conclusion that the Lord of

Dancers now remained in the Sabhā only as space, bereft of qualities.
Someone meditating on His lotus foot must have drawn the form of Lord to his own place and installed Him there !

The the Lord, although bereft of qualities, spoke to them.

'I am to be found in the *sthalapurāṇa* that the priest *(makhin)* Umāpati is composing. I am dwelling within a golden casket in his *pūjā* room alongwith Umā.

O best of sages! You must invite him and enthrone him in the Jewelled Pavillion before the Cit Sabhā. Seated in front of him at the time of the morning milking every day for three fortnights, you, O Brahmans! along with Umā, must listen to the great Purāṇa of my city, and its abbreviated Tamil version, each of them a stream of nectar.

As soon as the first word is said I shall enter the great Sabhā and, O Brahmans ! I shall be visible to all. Go quickly to his monastery.'
Thereupon the Lord rejoined his tangible form, accompained by Ambā.
Going to the monastery the twice-born saw the best of sages and bowing to him loudly cried, 'We long to hear you Purāṇa poem. Come quickly, O knower of the Supreme Self.'
And Umāpati, hearing their words, came with them and entering the Sabhā, on a throne of brass and jewels in the middle of the *maṇḍapa,* facing east, his arms upraised in homage.
he meditated on the Lord of the Sabhā in the lotus seet-up of his heart. Then he stood on the throne and looking at the Brahmans, he began to recite the beginning of the Purāṇa.
Then the Dancer was before all men.

(Rājendrapura Māhātmya: 81-95)

On the basis of the foregoing discussion and revision of Kulke's dating, Umāpati could, conceivably, have written at least the final redaction of the Sanskrit *Cidamabara Māhātmya* at the same time as making the Tamil version (generally attributed to him). The very poetical account of Bhikṣāṭana's encounters with the wives of the *ṛṣis,* for example, is almost identical in both versions, and since it is more appropriate in style and feeling to the Kōyil Purāṇam than to the rest of the *Cidambara Māhātmya,* could well be equally his composition. So too other sections of the *Cidambara Māhātmya.*

Noteworthy in the above passage from the *Rājendrapura Māhātmya* is the attribute to the image attributed to the priests. Not only is the image the object of intensely focussed attention, it can as it were be sucked away to the one who meditates upon it the most intensely. Again, note that Umāpati restores the image in a double sense, both physically and in his literary work. The interconnection of the physical image and its textual version is intensely close. So too throughout the *Kuñcitāṅghristava.*

19
The Cosmic Body of Śiva

Having given a brilliant account of the nature of *Ādya-Pinda* in the ideal *supra*-physical plane, Mahāyogi Gorakhnath proceeds to the exposition of the evolution of the physical world system for the nature of this *Adya-Pinda*. Śiva as *Ādya-Pinda*, the Cosmic Purusha, evolves from within Himself, through the further unfoldment of His Śakti, a physical cosmic body, extending in space and changing in time, and makes it an integral part and parcel of His all-enjoying Self-Consciousness. The universe which was *ideally real* in the nature of *Ādya-Pinda*, becomes *physically and objectively real* as the Cosmic Body of Śiva, and this Body is designated by Gorakhnath as *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda*. Śiva Himself reveals and enjoys Himself as this *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda*, this magnificent world-organism, this splendid spatio-temporal order, this physical universe full of apparently bewildering complications and catastrophic changes. It is one of the forms of self-manifestation of the *Mahā-Śakti* of Śiva. Śiva with His infinite and eternal *Mahā-Śakti* is immanent in all the diversities of this physical order, is regulating and harmonising all its phenomena, and is manifesting and enjoying the glories of His transcendent nature in and through various kinds of limitations and complications pertaining to this physical organism subject to temporal and spatial conditions.

An enlightened *Yogi* sees the delightful self-expression of *Mahā-Śakti-Vilāsī* Śiva in all the variegated affairs of this physical universe. He sees and loves this world as the Divine Body, that can be actually perceived with the physical senses, that offers opportunities for the appreciation and enjoyment of the beauties and sublimities and excellences of the Divine nature in particularised forms and for practical participation in the Divine play through the loving performance of good works in His world for His sake in a desireless sportive spirit. The *Yogi feels* that he lives and move and has his being in the Divine Body, the he is never alienated from Him, that in the waking or dreaming or sleeping state he never loses direct contact with Him. All phenomena of the world, all order of existences, all pleasant and unpleasant circumstances, appear to be sacred to him, because they pertain to the Divine Body, because they all form parts of the playful self-expressions of Śiva-Śakti. The conception of the physical universe as the Cosmic Body of Śiva is a most magnificent idea of the philosophy of *Siddha-Yogis*.

Gorakhnath traces the evolution of this *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* thus:

Ādyān Mahākāśo, Mahākāśan Mahāvāyuh, Mahāvāyor Mahatejo, Mahātejaso Mahāsali'ām Mahāsalitān Mahāprithwī.

(S.S.P.I. 31)

From *Ādya-Pnda* evolves *Mahā-Ākāśa* (Great Ether), from *Mahā-Ākāśa* evolves *Mahā-Vāyu* (Great Air), from *Mahā Vāyu Mahā-Tejas* (Great Fire), from *Mahā-Tejas Mahā-Salila* (Great Water), from *Mahā-Salila Mahā-Prithwī* (Great Earth). The English equivalents given here in pursuance of common practice are of course inaccurate.

It has been previously shown that the entire cosmic system is in a subtle or ideal form revealed in the perfectly self-conscious nature of Śiva as *Ādya-Pinda* or First Cosmic Personality. Now through a further process of the self-unfoldment of His *Śakti*, this cosmic system is manifested in grosser and grosser physical forms and endows. *Ādya-Pinda* with a great physical embodiment infinite in space and ever continuous in time. In agreement with all the important systems of Indian philosophy Gorakhnath and the Siddha-Yogis conceive this physical universe as constituted of five Great Elements which are called *Mahā-Bhutas* (otherwise called *Mahā tattwas*), namely, *Ākāśa, Vāyu, Tejas (Agni), Salia (or Ap or Jala),* and *Prithwī* (or *Kshiti*). The physical universe, including all suns and start and nebulae, all kinds of material things, all forms of physical bodies of all species of living and conscious beings, is a most wonderful organisation of these five Great Elements.

Ākāśa is the finest and subtlest of these physical element and evolves directly from the dynamic psycho-spiritual Cosmic Body of Śiva, called *Ādya-Pinda. Vāyu* has a grosser and more complex nature and it evolves from *Ākāśa. Tejas* is endowed with a still more gross and more complex character and it evolves from *Vāyu. Salila* is still grosser and more complex than Tejas and is conceived as evolving out of *Tejas. Prithwī* is the grossest and most complex and hence most physical of all the great elements and is conceived as evolving out of *Salila. Ākāśa* pervades *Vāyu; Vāyu* with *Ākāśa* pervades *Tejas; Tejas* alongwith *Ākāśa* with *Vāyu* pervades *Salila,* and together with *Ākāśa, Vāyu,* and *Tejas Salila* pervades *Prithwī. Ādya-Pinda* inwardly pervades and enlivens and harmonises and organises them all and constitutes out of them this gross physical Nature (*sthūla pārthiva jagat*) with all apparently inorganic material objects and organic physical bodies within it. This physical world is called *Pañcabhautika-Jagat* (the gross world constituted of five original elements) or simply *Pārthiva Jagat* (the world made of *Prithw,̄* since *Prithwī* comprises all the physical elements). This is conceived by *Yogis* as *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda of* Śiva-Śakti.

In his usual manner Gorakhnath describes each of these five *Mahābhutas* or five physical *Mahā-tattwas* (as he also designates them) as possessed of five attributes (*guna*).

Avakāśah acchidram asprisatwam nīlavarnatwam śabdatwam iti panca-gunah ākāśah.

(S.S.P.I. 32)

Avakāśa means vacuum or emptiness of penetrability. Though it occupies all space, it has room for all grosser realities evolving and existing and freely moving within it and playing their parts without any resistance in its bosom. It is a non-resisting reality. When all other physical realities disappear from any portion of space, *Ākāśa* remains there, and when other visible or tangible things are perceived to occupy any portion of space, there also *Ākāśa* is present. The second attribute is *acchidra,* which means gaplessness or perfect continuity. It is not divisible into distinct parts, it cannot be cut into pieces. It is all pervading. Whatever contents may evolve within it, in whatever other physical forms the Divine Energy may manifest Herself within its bosom, it pervades all of them and its continuity is never broken. The third attribute is *asprisatwa,* which means untouchability. It has no tangible properties. Though it is the container of all other physical realities which evolve from and within it, it is not touched by them, it is unaffected by the changes which take place in them. Though permeating all things,—solid, liquid and gaseus, heat, light electricity and magnetism, etc.—it remains behind them and is not physcally touched by them. The fourth attribute is describe as *nīla-varnatwa,* which literally means blue-colouredness. We ordinarily speak of the blue sky (*nīla-ākāśa*). But truly it means colourlessness. *Ākāśa* has really no visible property. Colours are particularised appearances of light, and light evolves from *Ākāśa* and cannot show *Ākāśa* in any particular colour. *Ākāśa* always remains at the background of, out never becomes and object of ocular perception.

The fifth attribute of Ākāśa is mentioned as *śabdatwa* (the quality of sound). In all Indian systems of philosophy *Śabda* (sound) is regarded the essential quality (*guna*) of *Ākāśa.* This of course does not mean any particularised form of sound, but the possibility of all sounds. It does not imply that *Ākāśa* is audible or has any auditory property. Indian systems in general, and *Yoga-Śāstras* in particular, recognise four stages of the evolution of Sound, viz., *Parā, Paśyanti, Madhyamā,* and *Vaikhari.* Of these *Vaikhari* is the grossest form of sound, and this alone is audible to the sense of hearing. *Madhyamā, Paśyanti* and *Parā* are gradually subtler and subtler forms of Sound. Subtler form of Sound are not perceptible to the normal sense of hearing until and unless they are manifested in the grossest forms through particular physical processes. Sound in the subtlest form, as one unproduced unbroken continuous *Mahā-Nāda,* the origin of all particularised sounds, pertains to the essential nature of *Ākāśa,* and it has the potentiality of producing or appearing as the grosser forms of sound in relation to the other grosser elements. There will be occasions to discuss this topic in other contexts.

Pure *Mahākāśa,* infinite in space, without any grosser physical contents, without any sensible characteristics, without any waves or movements, perfectly calm and tranquil, may be called the *Etherial Body (Vyoma-Pinda)* of Śiva-Śakti. This is the first self-manifestation of Śiva-Śakti in the spatio-temporal cosmic order. From this Body evolves *Mahā-Vāyu,* which represents the second stage of Śiva-Śakti's physical self-manifestation in this cosmic order. *Mahā-Vāyu* also is described in terms of five attributes.

Sancārah sancālanam sparśanam śoshanam dhumra-varnatwam itipancaguno Mahā-Vāyu.

(S.S.P.I. 33).

The first primary quality of Vāyu is *sancāra* or motion. This not only implies passing from one portion of space to another, but all forms of agitation and vibration and wave and upheaval. When motion appear on the perfectly calm and tranquil bosom of *Mahākāśa*, it indicates a new development, the birth of a new physical element, and this element is called *Mahā-Vāyu*. It has not only the quality of movement, but also the quality of causing movement (*sancālana*). It is endowed with the property of acting as a force for causing movement in apparently inert bodies. All movements, all waves and upheavals, all physical and chemical and electrical and biological changes, all integrations and disintegrations of matter, which we experience in nature, are explained in *Yoga-Śāstras* as well as in other Indian systems as originating from the operation of this great active element, *Mahā-Vāyu*, which evolves from and within *Mahākāśa*.

It is quite obvious that the great Indians thinkers do not use the term *Vāyu* in this context in the sense of ordinary air or wind, which is a composite thing,—a *Pañcabhautika padārtha* in Indian terminology,—and in which *Vāyu*, the *Mahābhuta*, of course plays its game and is one of the primary constituents.

The third quality mentioned is *Sparśa*. Which means that it is perceptible to the sense of touch or that it stimulates the sense of touch. The tactual property of *Mahā-Vāyu* does not of course imply that this original element is by itself capable of being touched by our gross sense of touch. Our special senses are endowed with the capacity of perceiving only particular properties of particular gross material object, which are the specialised manifestations of the combination or organisation of all the five original element (*bhutas or tattwas*). No one of the original element is directly perceptible to them. But each of these original elements has special reference to particular primary senses. *Vāyu* has special reference to the sense of touch, and our tactual sensations are regarded as concerned with the particularised manifestations of *Vāyu* in the composite bodies. According to many schools,—especially those which conceive the ultimate physical element in terms of rudimentary sensuous experiences,—*Sparśa-guna* is the most primary attribute of *Vāyu*.

The fourth quality of *Vāyu* is *Śoshana*, which means absorption of the particles or qualities of other grosser elements evolved from it,—such as *Agni*, *Salila* and *Prithwī*,—into itself. This is absorbs the heat of *Agni*, the coldness of Salila, the scent of *Prithwī*, etc., into its nature without destroying or dissolving them, and becomes thereby endowed with those qualities. Otherwise *Vāyu* by itself has neither any heat nor any coldness nor any odour. The fifth quality is described as *Dhumravarnatwa*, which literally means smoke-colouredness. It is to be noted that like *Ākāśa Vāyu* also is not an object of ocular perception,—it has no visible colour. But perhaps in some special sense Mahāyogi Gorakhnath has mentioned *nīla-varnatwa* and *dhumravarnatwa* as *gunas* of *Ākāśa* and *Vāyu* respectively. He might have had in his mind the idea that whatever is *sākāra* (possessed

of form), i.e. whatever is of the nature of a physical substance, must have some sort of colour, whether visible or invisible to our gross sense of sight.

Since *Ākāśa* and *Vāyu* are the first two primary constituents of the *Mahā-sākāra-pinda, i.e.*, the objective physical universe, they ought to be conceived of as possessing certain *rupa* or *varna* or colours, through not yet manifested in such gross physical forms as to be objects of gross ocular experience. Grosser visible colours are supposed to evolve out of those subtle invisible colours. On account of the imperfection of verbal expression, those invisible colours have to be described in terms conveying senses of gross visible colours. It is to be remembered that these two subtle physical elements, *Ākāśa* and *Vāyu*, represent the first two stages of the self-unfoldment of the Divine Energy in objective physical forms, in which even light and heat and sound, as we normally experience them,—not to speak of the suns and stars and planets and satellites and the various orders of material things and living organisms,—have not as yet evolved.

Mahākāśa, pervading the entire space, without any partcularised contents, without any motion or agitation or transformation, has been described as the *Etherial Cosmic Body of Śiva*. Yogis often concentrate their attention upon this infinite tranquil *Mahākāśa-Rupa* of *Śiva-Śakti* and merge their individuality n It. When Motion is evolved, Force is manifested, Changes appear, in this Etherial Cosmic Body, Śiva-Śakti is revealed with an infinite *Aerial Body,—Mahā-Vāyu-Rupa. Mahā-Vāyu* (of course ensouled with Śiva-Śakti) is conceived as the source of all forces of nature. The vital forces operating within our physical bodies are also conceived as expressions of Mahā-Vāyu, and they are designated *Prāna. Vāyu* is the principal dynamic element in the cosmic system. *Vāyu* appears to be surcharged with life-power, which energises all other elements.

From *Mahā-Vāyu* evolves *Mahā-Tejas* in the Cosmic Body of *Śiva-Śakti. Mahā-Tejas* also is described as possessing five essential attributes, *viz., Dāhakatwa, Pācakatwa, Ushnatwa, Prakāaśatwa, and Rakta-varnatwa. Dāhakatwa* means the quality of burning or combustion, Which tends to destroy the cohesion among the constituents of grosser material bodies and to reduce them into their ingredient element. *Pācakatwa* means the quality of assimilation or transformation of material things, so as to bring out apparently new characteristics in them. It is through the operation of *Tejas* or *Agni* in the living bodies that they digest their food and convert the material objects they consume into live tissues and vital forces. It is *Tejas* or *Agnī* present in living plants that bring about transformations in the colours, tastes, etc., of leaves and flowers and fruits and so on. *Tejas* applied to clay vessels changes their colours. All such facts are cited as illustrations of *Pācakatwa-guna* of *Agni*. *Usnatwa* means heat and *Prakāśatwa* means light. These are the two fundamental attributes of *Tejas*, just as *Sancāra* and Sancālana (motion and causing motion) are the fundamental attributes of *Vāyu*, from which *Tejas* evolves.

Like *Mahākāśa* and *Mahā-Vāyu, Mahā-Tejas* also is all-pervading. Suns and stars and blazing fires are special manifestations of *Mahā-Tejas*,and so also are the lightning sparks. Movements in them are the expressions of *Mahā-Vāyu* Heat, light, burning, transforming, etc., which are phenomenal expressions of *Mahā-Tejas*, are all evolved from motion or vibration, which is the chief characteristic of *Mahā-Vāyu*. They are all mani-

fested in bosom of *Mahākāśa,* is also manifested in grosser and grosser forms through the operations of *Mahā-Vāyu* and *Mahā-Tejas. Mahā-Tejas* is further described as possessing *Rakta-Varna,* which means red colour. This of course is not intended to be literally understood on the basis of our normal sense-experience. *Mahā-Tejas* by itself has no particular visible colour. All colours evolve from it, and even the sense of vision evolves from it. But in Indian systems of thought invisible realities also are often described as possessing particular colours. Thus *Sānkhya-darśan* describes *Sattwa, Rajas* and *Tamas* as characterised by white, red and black colours respectively. Śruti says that red colour pertains to *Tejas,* white pertains to *Ap* or *Salila,* and black to *Prithwī* or *Anna.* Generally speaking, the five primary colours of our common visual experience are conceived as pertaining to the nature of the five ultimate physical realities,—*Panca Mahā-Bhutas.*—in subtle forms, from which the gross forms are evolved. All-pervading *Mahā-Tejas* is the *Jyotir-maya* or *Tejomaya-Rupa* (*Fiery Body*) of *Śiva-Śakti* and is meditated upon as such by *Yogis.*

From *Mahā-Tejas evolves Mahā-Salila* in the Cosmic Body of Śiva. The five *gunas* of *Mahā-Salila* are described as *Pravāha, Āpyāyana, Drava, Rasa,* and *Śweta varnatwa. Pravāha* means current or continuous flow. *Āpyāyana* means fertilizing or fecundating quality. *Drava* means fluidity. *Rasa* means palatableness, *Śwetak varnatwa* means white-colouredness. *Mahā-Tejas* appear to be conceived as cooling down partially into the form of *Mahā-Salila* endowed with softer qualities in the process of evolution in the cosmic physical embodiment of *Śiva-Śakti,* so as to make it suitable for the growth of various orders of finite individual living bodies (*Vyati-Pindas)* within it. *Mahā-Salila* should not of course be confused with the gross water of our common experience. *Mahā-Salila* is the cool soothing *Drava-Rupa* (Fluid Body) of *Śiva-Śakti.*

Last of all in this process of the self-manifestation of *Śiva-Śakti* as a cosmic organism, evolves *Mahā Pritwi* out of *Mahā-Salila.* Mahā-*Prithwī* is endowed with five *gunas; viz., Sthulatā, Nānākāratā, Kāathinya, Gandha and Pita-varnatwa. Sthulatā* means grossness. This is the grossest and most condensed form of physical self-manifestation of *Śiva-Śakti,* the other four being comparatively subtler than this. *Naānākāratā* means multiformity,— the quality of assuming various shapes and sizes. *Kāthinya* means solidity. *Gandha* means odour,—the quality of being an object of the sense of smell. *Pita-Varnatwa* means yellow-coloured-ness. These are regarded as the special characteristics of this grossest of the five ultimate constituents of the physical universe which is conceived as the *Mahā Sākāra-Pinda* of *Śiva-Śakti.* This is the *Sthula-Murti* of *Śiva-Śakti.*

Since all these *Mahā-Bhutas* (which are also called *Mahā-Tattwas)* evolve from the dynamic nature of the super-physical *Ādya-Pinda* of *Śiva-Śakti* and are organically united for constituting the Cosmic Physical Body of *Śiva-Śakti,* the qualities of each interpenetrate all in various ways and make this phenomenal material universe a bewilderingly complex and nevertheless a wonderfully harmonised system. Gorakhnath described this *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* as characterised by the above-mentioned twenty-five *gunas* of the five constituent elements. Embodied with the *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda,*—this phenomenal cosmic order,—*Śiva* with His unique *Śakti* comes down to the gross sensible physical plane and

reveals Himself as the Supreme Omnipotent Omniscient Omnipresent Active Deity Manifested in various forms and freely and delightfully playing various cosmic games in the spatio-temporal system. *Śiva-Śakti* is everywhere in this world and immanent in every part of it as well as in the whole.

There is a general agreement among all the systems of Indian philosophical thought with regard to the conception of *Ākāśa, Vāyu, Tejas* (*or Agni*), *Salila* (*or Jala or AP*), and *Prithwi* (or *Bhumi* or *Kshiti*), as the five ultimate material elements (*panca Mahā-Bhutas*), of which the physical universe is constituted. The basic reason for this conception is also the same. It is a universally recognised fact that our sense-experience is the sole evidence to us for the existence of the objective physical world in space and time and the primary source of our knowledge of the nature of this world. We are endowed with five special senses of knowledge (*panca jñānendriya*),—*viz.*, the sense of hearing, the sense of touch, the sense of sight, the sense of taste, and the sense of smell (*śravana-indriya, sparśa indriya, darśanak-indriya, rasana-indriya* and *ghrāna-indriya*). These *Indriyas* (special power of perception) have special organs in the physical body, through which they operate and form contact with particular classes of object in the external world. *Śabda* (sound), *Sparśa* (touch), *Rupa* (colour), *Rasa* (taste), and *Gandha* (odour) are respectively the special objects of perception of these special senses.

We are so constituted that we in our normal life naturally perceive and conceive this world in terms of these sensible properties of the objects of our experience, viz., *Śabda, Sparśa, Rupa, Rasa* and *Gandha*. Hence it is concluded that this objective physical world must ultimately be constituted of five subtle physical elements, which are endowed with these five primary sensible properties as their essential characteristic. Thus *Ākāśa* is conceived as essentially chacaterised by *Śabda-guna, Vāyu* by *Skparśa-guna, Tejas* by *Rupa-guna, Salila* or *Ap* by *Rasa-guna*, and *Prithwi* by *Gandha-guna*. Among these ultimate physical realities constituting the sensible world, each succeeding one is regarded as comparatively grosser and more complex in nature than the preceding one. Thus *Vāyu* is conceived as endowed with *Śabda-guna* of *Ākāśa* along with its own *Śparśa-guna*. *Śabda* and *Sparśa* enter into *Tejas* and co exist with *Rupa* in its nature.

Accordingly, *Salila* possesses *Śabda, Sparśa, Rupa* and *Rasa*, and *Prithwi* is characterised by all the five ultimate sensible properties,—*Śabda Sparśa, Rupa, Rasa,* and *Gandha*. Some sort of evolution among these ultimate constituents of physical nature is also generally recognised. Some sort of evolution among these ultimate constituents of physical nature is also generally regonised. Sometimes the process is described as the process of *Pancikarana*, by which the character of each of the five partially enters into all of them. Besides the generally recognised essential sensible qualities, Gorakhnath mentions, as it has been already shown, several other characteristics of each of them. He seems to attach more primary importance to such attributes, as vacuity of *Ākāśā*, Motion of *Vāyu*, Heat of *Tejas, Fluidity* of *Salila* and Solidity of *Prithwi*.

While there is a general agreement among the Indian philosophical schools about the *Panca-Mahābhutas being the ultimate material constituents* (*jada upādāna*) of the physical world, there are fundamental differences among them with regard to the question of the

origin of this wonderfully harmonious cosmic system (with various orders of living and conscious being within it) out of them. There are materialist schools (*e.g. Lokāyata* or *Cārvāka*) which stubbornly maintain that they are the ultimate realities out of which this cosmic system with all its law and order and all its living and conscious and rational beings has gradually come into existence in course of time through various processes of integration and disintegration by nature (*swabhāva*) or by chance (*Yadricchā* or *niyat*) and into which all the bodies, whether inanimate or animate, unconscious,—are dissolved in course of time. They hold that *Caitanya* (spirit or consciousness) is nothing but a quality or attribute of certain classes of organised material bodies constituted of the five,—(according to some, four, leaving out Ākāśa as no physical reality),—material elements and never exists apart from and independently of these gross material bodies. It is needless to say that they feel no rational or spirtual necessity for admitting the existence of God or Supreme Spirit to explain this Cosmic Order.

There are strongly argumentative schools (such as *Nyāya* and *Vaiśe-shikta*) which like the former maintain that these *Panca-Mahābhutas* are *nitya dravya* (eternal substances) eternally existing by themselves in insert atomic (*paramānu*) forms, but unlike the former hold that these ultimate material elements being essentially insert cannot by themselves move and combine together and arrange and organise themselves in a planned manner so as to produce such a wonderful cosmic system and that they being *jada* can never originate *Caitanya* (consciousness) through any kind of organisation in themselves. *Ātmā* (Spirit) and *Manas* (instrument of empirical consciousness) are also recognised by them as eternal substances. They recognise the eternal existence of innumerable individual souls (*jivātmā*) and of one Supreme Spirit (*paramātmā*) Who is *Iśwara* (God). They hold that *Iśwara*, by the exercise of His innate infinite wisdom and power, creates in planned manner this cosmic order out of the five kinds of material atoms, which are however not created by Him. According to them, the *Panca-Mahābhutas* are the material cause and *Iśwara* is the efficient cause of this objective world, and *Iśwara* is also the Supreme Ruler of all the phenomena of this world.

The world is not however any or *self-manifestation* or *body* of the Supreme Spirit, and the individual souls also are not spiritual parts of self-manifestation of the Supreme Spirit. The *Naiyāyika* philosophers adduce many logical and moral cosmological arguments to prove the existence of *Iśwara* as the Efficient Cause of the cosmic system and the Moral Governor of all individual souls. It is through His Grace that individual souls devoted to His worship can attain *Mukti* or *Apavarga*. In *mukti* these souls are not only released from all bondage and sorrow, but also from phenomenal consciousness, which cannot remain without the soul's contact with *Manas*.

According to the Sānkhya system, *panca-Mahābhutas* are evolved from *panca-Tanmātras*, which are the same *Mahābhutas* in their pure and subtle states (*apancikrita sukshma mahābhutas*) and characterised by the purest and simplest sensible qualities: these *Tanmātras* are evolved from *Aham-tattwa* (One Ego-Principle), Which is also the source of the empirical mind (*manas*), the five senses of knowledge (iñānendriya) and the five senses of action (*Karmendriya*). Thus, according to this view, the ultimate constituents

of the objective physical world (including our individual physical bodies) and the primary instruments of our knowledge of and action upon ths objective world originate from or are the mutually related manifestations of one higher reality (*tattwa*), *viz.*, *Ego-Principle*, which is conceived as the meeting-ground or the ground of union of the subjective and the objective aspects of our experience,—of the instruments of knowledge and action and all objects of knowledge and action. The *Ego-Principle* is therefore also called *Bhutādi*, the Source of the *Bhutas* and of the whole world of physical realities.

The *Ego-Principle* is however not an individual ego, which is always manifested in relation to the individual mind and senses and the objective realities. It is a principle, a reality, a *tattwa*, which is manifested in the two-fold ways of the plurality of individual subjects with the individual minds and senses on the one side and the diversified objective physical world constituted of material elements on the other. The *Ego-Principle* again is conceived as evolved from *Mahat-tattwa*, which is the first manifestation (*vyakta-rūpa*) of *Mulā-Prakriti* or *Avyaktatattwa*—the Ultimate Material Cause of the subjective-objective phenomenal world in space and time. The Sānkhya system does not however hold that the plurality of individual souls or spirits are evolved from *prakriti*. It asserts that an infinite number of souls or spiritis (called *Purusha*) the essential character of which is pure changeless transcendent consciousness, are eternally associated (*Saṃyukta*) with *Prakriti* and all its evolutes and only apparently or illusorily participate in their qualities and functions and limitations. When it is perfectly realised by any individual soul, through the refinement and illumination of the mind and intelligence related to it that it is essentially pure and changeless and limitations *Caitanya* and in no way *really* connected with the affairs of *Prakriti* and the cosmic order, it becomes emancipated from the apparent bondage of this phenomenal world and exists in its transcendent character. Thus the *Mahābhuta*, according to *Sānkhya* are not ultimate realities, though they are the ultimate material constituents of the objective world. This objective world is not conceived as created by or evolved from any Supreme Spirit or Iśwara, but as evolved from *Mulā-Prakriti*, from which all phenomenal knowledge and action and all instruments of knowledge and action also are evolved, without any supervision and control of any eternal Supreme Lord of this *Prakriti*.

The Upanishadic thinkers, like the *Siddha Yogi Sampradāya*, trace the origin of the *Panca-Mahābhutas* from the Supreme Spirit,—*Brahma or Ātmā*. The *Rishi* of the *Brahmānanda-Valli of Taittiriya Upanishad proclaims,—*

Tasmād vā etasmād ātmana ākāśah sambhutah, ākāśād vāyuh, vāyor agnih, agner āpah, adbhyah prithivī.

From that Supreme Spirit (Brahma, the changeless transcendent *Satyam Jñānam Anantam)* Who is also *Ātmā* or the True Self of every being, *Ākāśa* is born. From *Ākāśa Vāyu* is evolved, from *Vāyu Agni*, from *Agni Ap*, and from *Ap Prithivī*.

This view is supported by others *Rishis*. All the *Upanishads* hold the view that one changeless differenceless transcendent Supreme Spirit (*Brahma, Ātmā, Śiva)* with infinite power and intelligence inherent in His nature is the Sole Cause (Material and Efficient as

well as Final Cause) of the entire Spatio-temporal Cosmic Order. Brahma is described as *a-śabda a -sparśa a-rupa a-rasa a-gandha* (without sound, without touch, without form, without taste, without scent) and at the same time *Bhuta-Yoni* (the Origin of all the *bhutas*). He is *a-prāna a-manah* (without life and mind in the empirical sense and at the same time the Sole Source of all life and mind,—all vital and mental phenomena,—in the Cosmic System, and the Indwelling Spirit (*Antaryāmi Ātmā*) in them all. The Upanishads clearly proclaim that from Brahma all these *Bhutas* are born, by Brahma all of them are sustained and enlivened, towards Brahma they are all moving on, and into Brahma again they enter and merge and lose ther differences. This is exactly the view of the *Mahā-Yogis*.

The Vedantic schools of philosophy base their speculations on the authoritative texts of the *Upanishads*. But some of them are so much under the influence of the idea of the fundamental difference between Spirit and Matter,—between Pure Changeless Transcendent Consciousness above all spatio-temporal relations and the diverse orders of ever-changing physical phenomena in the world of time and space,—that they fail to logically conceive how the latter can *really* originate from or be a *real* self-manifestation of the former. Hence they regard the world of *Mahābhutas* as having only an *illusory* existence born of some inexplicable mysterious Power, called Māyā or *Avidyā*, and the Supreme Spirit, Brahma, as nothing but a substratum (adhiṣṭhāna) of this illusion. Of the vedantist philosophers Ramanuja and Śrikantha and some others follow the *Mahā-Yogis* in interpreting the cosmic system or the phenomenal world of *Mahābhutas* as a self-manifestation and embodiment of the Supreme Spirit, by virtue of the real Power (*Śakti*) inherent in the Spirit.

Origination of Matter from spirit and dissolution of Matter in Spirit,—origination of spatio-temporal phenomenal realities from one infinite eternal changeless Transcendent Consciousness and absolute unification of the former in the Latter,—free playful self-manifestaton of one non-dual *Cit* in the complex relative multiplicity of *Jaḍa* and merging of this multiplicity in the perfect blissful unity of *Cit*, do not present insurmountable conceptual difficulties to the enlightened *Mahāyogis*, because through the systematic discipline and refinement of their body and mind and intellect and the practice of deep mediation they easily pass from one place of experience to another,—from the place of phenomenal Matter to the plane of Transcendent Spirit and back from the latter to the former, from the plane of changing diversities to the plane of absolute unity and back from the latter to the former,—and the transition becomes quite natural to them. They directly experience the Transcendent as well as Dynamic character of the Non-dual Spirit. Matter also is experienced by them as ultimately a spiritual entity.

In *Śwetāśwatara Upanishad* and also in other *Upanishads* there is eloquent testimony to such spiritual experiences of enlightened *Mahāyogis*. It is said in the Upanishad,— *Te dhyāna yogānugatā apaśyan devātma-śaktim swagunair nigudhām:*—They (the enlightened *Mahāyogis)* through the most intensive practice of *dhyāna-yoga* saw the Supreme Spirit's own *Śakti*, Whose essential non-different from the Supreme Spirit) manifested in varius phenomenal forms in various planes of experience. *Jñāna* (knowledge), *bala* (force) and *Kriyā* (action) are quite natural self-expressions of this *Para-Śakti* of the Supreme Spirit,—

Parāsya Śaktir Vvidhaiva śruyate svābhāviki jñānabala-kriyā ca. All expressions of intelligence, all expressions of power or force, all expressions of activity,—creation and destruction, evolution and involution, expansion and contraction, organisation and disorganisation, etc.,—are diverse forms of self-manifestation of the Supreme *Śakti* of the Supreme Spirit (Who may be designated as Brahma or Śiva or by any other name) and they all together constitute the Cosmic Body of the Supreme Spirit. He is in all of them, and all are in Him, by Him and for Him, The *Mahāyogis* actually experience this great Truth. To them the whole universe is the embodiment and free delightful self-manifestation of *Śiva-Śakti.*

Having described the constitution and character of the Cosmic Body (*Mahā-Sākāra-Pindak)* of Śiva, Mahāyog Gorakhnath emphatically says,—*Sa eva Śivah,*—He (the *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda)* is veritabty Śiva Himself. (S.S.P..37). The Body is not to be conceived as separate from the Soul. The Cosmic Body of Śiva is not to be conceived as separate from Śiva Himself, Who is the Soul of this Cosmic Body. It is quite true that the Soul transcend space and time and the Body is in space and time, that the Soul is transcendent Spirit and the Body is phenomenal matter, that the Soul is the absolutely changeless One and the Body is in a continuous process of change and diversification; but still it is evident that the Body has no separate existence apart from the Soul, that the Body exists by and for the Soul, that the Soul manifests Himself in and through the Body and all the phenomena pertaining to the Body. The Soul transcends the Body and is also immanent in the Body,—in the whole Body as well as in every part of the Body. When an intelligent person sees the Body, he sees the Soul also manifested in it. When an enlightened *Yogi* sees the physical world, he also see Śiva manifested through His Śakti in this world. To the spiritual insight of a *Yogi* the physical world also is Śiva, because it is the Body of Śiva and Śiva manifests Himself in and through it. Being the self-expression of the Supreme Spirit, this physical world is revealed to his enlightened eyes as a spiritual entity. Śiva with His Spatio-temporal Cosmic Body being conceived as Śiva Himself, the Oneness of Śiva s never hidden from view. The One comprehending the many is one all the same.

It is to be noted that in every stage of the self-unfoldment of His Unique Power,—His Own Dynamic Nature,—the Absolute Spirit manifests Himself in newer and newer forms with newer and newer attributes and embodiments and newer and newer expressions of His glories. The physical Cosmic Body is the grossest (*sthulatama*) form of His self-manifestation. In this Body His infinite Wisdom and Power, His infinite Goodness and Beauty, His infinite Purity and Bliss, His infinte Love and Compassion, are manifested in an infinite variety of finite forms, and He in His serene and tranquil self-consciousness enjoys them all.

Having expounded his doctrine of the evolution of the Cosmic System from the dynamic nature of Śiva, Mahāyogi Gorakhnath says that in relation to this Cosmic Order the Supreme Sprit Śiva manfests Himself principally in the forms of eight Divine Personalities,—eight Cosmic Deities,—Who are called *Astha-Murti* of *Mahā Sākāra-Pinda Śiva.*

Sivād Bhairavo, Bhairavāo, Bhairavāt Śrikanthah, Śrikanthāt Sadāśivah,
Sadāśivāt Iśwarah, Iśwarād Rudrah, Rudrād Vishnuh, Vishnor Brahmā,
Iti Mahā-Sākāra-Pindasya Murtyashtakam.

(S.S.P.I.37)

First Śiva Himself, second Bhairava, third Śrikantha, fourth Sadāśiva, fifth Iśwara, sixth Rudra, seventh Viṣhṇu, and eighth Brahmā. These are spoken of as *Astha-Murti* (eight special Divine Self-manifestations) of *Mahā-Sākāra-pinda Śiva (Śiva embodied in the Cosmic System).*

Through these special Divine Self-revelations Śiva appear to perform different cosmic functions,—to perform and regulate and harmonise the works of creation, preservations, destruction, etc., to maintain law and order in this diversified and ever-changing cosmic system, to establish the reign of justice in the world of living beings and to distribute equitably happinesses and miseries among them, to confer blessings upon them and set before them high and noble ideals of Truth. Beauty Goodness, Love and Absolute Transcendent Unity, and provide opportunities to them for the realisation of these ideals, and so on and so forth. They are all non-different from Śiva. The Same Divine Power operates in all of them. It is in the light of the different kinds of self-manifestation of the one *Śakti* of Śiva in the cosmic system that different glorious names are given to Śiva and different glorious names are given to Śiva and different glorious power and qualities and functions are associated with these names. In the Hindu scriptures the name of Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra are most widely known and they are associated with the cosmic functions of Creation, Preservation and Destruction, which are equally important for the continuity and every-newness of this spatio-temporal order.

Brahmā is conceived as the God of Creation. He is the Creator of diverse orders of individual bodies,—animate and inanimate, conscious and unconscious, rational and non-rational, big and small,—endowed with diverse kinds of qualities and powers and tendencies, within the Cosmic Body of Śiva. Vishnu is the God of Preservation. He preserves harmonious relationships among all these diverse order of individual bodies and rules over their behaviours and destinies in accordance with the universal principles of *Dharma* immanent in this cosmic system. He is the Divine Administrator of the System. Rudra is conceived as the God of Destruction. He destroys these individual bodies in due course and resolves them into their constitutent elements. Creation is the process of unification. All these processes are continuous in the Cosmic Body of Śiva.

A System of Worlds in the Cosmic Body

In this Cosmic System,—in this magnificent *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* of the Supreme Spirit,—We experience various order of phenomenal existences, which may be described as different *worlds* (*loka*), though they are all interrelated and harmoniously organised in the Cosmic Body. In relation to each of the these worlds there is a specialised Divine Self-manifestation of Śiva. First, there is the world of material bodies and physical forces

(including mechanical, chemical, thermal, electrical and other forces), in which there is no distinct manifestation of life and mind and spirit, which is governed by *natural laws* (not obviously indicating any reign of morality and spirituality or any design and purpose in their operations), in which the processes of creation and preservation and destruction, in smaller and bigger scales, are going on in natural course in all periods of time and all regions of space. This is called the Material World (*Jada-Jagat*).

Secondly, there is the *world* of life and the vital forces which is governed by biological laws or laws or *Prāna*. This is the *Prāna-Jagat*. Life is always found in our ordinary experience as related to material bodies;—*e.g.* plants, insects, birds, beasts, men, etc. It is difficult for us even to conceive of life or *Prāna* part from relation to such bodies. But that life is distinct from matter as such admits of no doubt. The presence of life gives distinctive characteristics to the material bodies which it organises and enlivens. How life appears in the material world and becomes so closely related to material bodies is a puzzling problem. Life pervades the individual body which it animates and organises and whose functions it regulates for the realisation of some ideal immanent in it. The phenomena of living bodies are teleogically governed. The body may be in the form of a small seed or it may grow into a big tree with branches and leaves and flowers and fruits;—the body may be of the nature of some minute semen or it may develop into a full-grown multi limbed animal body or human body;—the same life which makes it grow and develop pervades the whole and every part of it at every stage of its growth and development. Though the material bodies are governed by natural laws of matter, in the cases of living organisms the biological laws or laws of life rule over these natural laws and prove themselves more powerful than the latter. When in any living body the vital force becomes weaker than the natural forces, it faces death, which implies that it is reduced into the state of a pure material body.

Living bodies have birth and growth and decay and death, but Life has not. Life transcends the bodies, through which it may manifest itself for any period of time. Life is embodied in matter, but is not material. In the Cosmic Body the world of life is intrinsically superior to the world of lifeless matter, because the Divine *Śakti* is more manifested in the reflected upon Life than lifeless Matter. *Prāna* is superior to *śarira*. *Śarira* is a seat and a instrument of the manifestation of *Prāna*. *Prāna* or Life seems to come down from a higher plane into material bodies which pulls up partially to its own plane. It is the power of *Prāna* in the world of matter, that transforms the process of constructive and destructive metabolism in the living organisms, brings about in the material bodies many such wonderful changes as would not be possible by means of any mechanical powers. The power of *Prāna* over *Matter* is visible in every department of nature. *Prāna* represents a higher plane of existence than pure Matter.

Thirdly, there is the world of Mind (*Mano-jagat*). Empirical consciousness pertains to the nature of Mind. Mind manifests itself in various kinds of phenomena, such as, sensation, perception, instinct, impulse, feeling (pleasure, pain, etc.), desire, emotion, volition, knowledge, doubt, imagination, memory, dream, illusion, hallucination, thinking, designing, etc. The states of waking, dream and sound sleep belong to the mind. Love

and hatred, mercy and cruelty, sympathy and selfishness, courage and cowardice, jealousy and fear, lust, anger, avarice, ambition, generosity, charity, forgiveness, etc. etc.,—all these are phenomena of the *world* of Mind. The phenomena of Mind are normally experienced as related to the more developed and more complex living physical bodies, and particularly to the nervous system and the brain, which are the finest parts evolved in a living body. as in our normal experience mental phenomena are invariably found in relation to individual living bodies, it is difficult for us to imagine even the existence of mind apart from connection with the material body.

Ordinary it is found that Mind and Body act and react upon each other, and that each is conditioned by the other. But mind does not occupy any special part of the Body, becuase unlike a material body it does not require to occupy any particular portion of space for its existence and functioning. Nor does Mind die with the death of the gross physical organism. Mind, though related to Life and Body, transcends them. Mind is not mortal, in the sense in which a living body is mortal. Mind uses the living physical organism to which it may be temporarily related as an instrument (*karana*) for its self-expression in the physical world. But, as it is believed by all the important schools of Indian philosophy and religion, the same Mind may cut off its connection with one physical organism (when the latter is disorganised and is dissolved in its constituent elements, may remain in a disembodied state (*i.e.* without any gross physical body), and may again take a new birth in (*i.e.* form connection with) a new physical body, which it then adopts aṣ the new instrument for its self-expression. In this way the same individual mind may pass through numerous physical bodies one after another, till it is finally merged in the Cosmic Mind of Śiva or in the nature of the Absolute Spirit.

It may be noted, by the way, that the super-ordinary Mind of a *Master-Yogi* may create, by the exercise of its will power, any number of gross physical bodies at the same time, and may make use of them as instruments of its self-expression in diverse forms. It must be remembered that all the phenomena of the *world* of Mind, whether ordinary or extraordinary, are evolved in the Cosmic Body,—*Mahāk-Sākāra-Pinda,—of Śiva-Śakti,* and that they are all essentially of the nature of *Cid Vilāsa,*—sportive self-manifestations of the Supreme Spirit. In this Cosmic System Mind has a higher order of reality than Matter and Life and is therefore capable of exercising a controlling influence over them.

Fourthly, we experience in this Cosmic Body of Śiva-Śakti the evolution of a world of Reason or Intelligence (*Buddhi*), which may be called Higher Mind. It is principally manifested in the form of the ascertainment of Truth (*adhyavasāya* or *satya-niscaya*). *Buddhi* discriminates between valid knowledge and invalid knowledge, correct though and incorrect though, true perception and false perception or illusion, right judgement and wrong judgement, etc., and seeks to regulate the natural functions of the mind towards the attainment of the *ideal of Truth.* The urge for the attainment of Truth in the human mind is due to the influence of *Buddhi* upon it. *Buddhi* sits in judgement upon the normal operations of the mind with its standard of Truth, condemns many of them as erroneous and exercises its power and influence upon the mind to rectify them and to search for Truth. It is on account of the regulative and enlightening influence of *Buddhi* that

discrimination between Truth and untruth arises in the mind and the mind feels an urge to seek for Truth and avoid untruth. *Buddhi* appears to have an inherent right to rule over the phenomena of the mind in the cosmic process.

In our normal experience we find definite expressions of *Buddhi* in relation to highly-developed minds embodied in superior orders of living physical organisms,—particularly human. In the lives of the lower animals, though there are various kinds of expressions of the mind, there is very little evidence of the regulating and enlightening operation of *Buddhi* in them. *Buddhi* seems to be, relatively speaking, unmanifested (*avyakta*) in the subhuman creatures, though there are different orders mental and vital and physical developments in them. Empirical philosophers generally speak of man as a rational animal and all other animals as non-rational,—reason being evolved in the former (the highest of all animals) and unevolved in all the rest. Indian philosophers in general maintain that *Buddhi* is present in all creatures,—in all living bodies, alongwith the mind, but as its manifestation is conditioned by the suitability of the physical organism and the development of the mind, it is not distinctly manifested as *individual reason* in the lower species of creatures. It manifests itself as individual reason with a distinct consciousness of *ego* or *self* in the human psycho-physical organism. The Cosmic *Buddhi* with the Cosmic Mind and the Cosmic Life is of course all-pervading,—pervading even all apparently inorganic matter. It is the Cosmic Body of Śiva-Śakti that is manifested in all these forms. Though in our common experience *Buddhi* (Reason or Intelligence) is invariable found to be associated with physical body and life and mind, it essentially transcends them. *Śuddha-Buddhi* (pure and enlightened Reason) can, according to *yogis,* rise above the limitation of these physical, vital and mental embodiments and be united with the Supreme Truth. The world of *Buddhi* (*Vijñāna-Jagat*) is higher than the *Mano-Jagat.*

Fifthly in this Cosmic Body of Śiva we experience a world of *Dharma,* which essentially means a *Moral Order*. Morality chiefly consists in the distinct between good and evil, right and wrong, virtue and vice, ideal and actual, ought and ought-not, superior and inferior, higher and lower. It implies a judgement of *intrinsic value* upon the actual phenomena by reference to some Ideal having inherent authority to rule over the actual and judge their merits. It is on account off the evolution of *Dharma* in this cosmic self-manifestation of Śiva-Śakti that many phenomena (whether physical or vital or mental), which appear in the natural course and play their parts in this diversified universe, but do not conform to the Ideal, are condemned as evil and wrong, while other which conform to the Ideal are appreciated as good and right. *Dharma* presents itself in the form of some ideal of goodness or righteousness with the inherent claim that the actual should be guided and controlled by it or be checked and superseded by it.

It is *Dharma* which governs the process of natural evolution in the world of our experience, and hence we find that higher and higher orders of existences evolve from lower and lower orders in spite of forces of resistance, and a wonderful harmony is maintained by putting down the forces of disharmony in all the stages. It is *Dharma* which proclaims that forces of union and harmony are superior to the forces of disunion and

disharmony, that forces of love and comparision are superior to the forces of hatred and cruelty, that forces of peace and non-violence are superior to the forces of war and violence, that forces of creation and preservation are superior to the forces of destruction and disorganisation,—though all of them make their appearance on the cosmic stage in natural course from the dynamic nature of the Absolute Spirit and play the roles allotted to them. It is the power of *Dharma* in the Cosmic system that makes the higher and superior forces victorious in it. It is among the diverse orders of cosmic self-manifestations of *Śiva-Śakti* that Dharma, which also is a glorious self-expression of the same Śiva-Śakti, makes such distinctions of good and evil, right and wrong, ought and ought-not, superior and inferior, higher and lower, and claims the right of good and right to prevail over evil and wrong, the right of the superior and higher to supersede the inferior and lower, the right of what ought to exist to destroy and survive what ought not to exist in this cosmic system. Thus *Dharma*, having evolved in the *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* of *Śiva-Śakti*, plays an exceptionally brilliant and sublime role in this Divine Body. *Dharma* appears to convert, so to say, the spatio-temporal psycho-pysical Body of the Spirit into a Moral Body,—a Moral Order. *Dharma* is the originator of all sorts of Moral Dualism in this world.

Dharma has its special manifestation in the Moral Consciousness associated with the rational nature of Man and has its special application to man's voluntary activities,—external as well as internal, physical and vital as well as mental and intellectual. Man as a rational being,—as a rational self-manifestation of Śiva-Śakti,—is endowed with a relative and conditioned *freedom* in this Cosmic Order,—freedom of will, freedom of phenomena of his physical body and senses and life and mind and intellect and also freedom of exercise a considerable amount of influence upon his environments. He with his sense of ego (*aham*) feels that he is or can be the master of himself,—the master of his psycho-physical embodiment,—and even the master of the circumstances in which he may find himself. Though he experiences various kinds of limitations imposed upon his freedom and self-mastery and mastery over the external circumstances, he feels within himself that he has the power and right and duty to remove or rise above these limitations,—if not wholly, at least to a great extent,—by dint of his own voluntary efforts. Man in his inner consciousness feels that freedom is his birth-right and that he can immensely develop this freedom through the wisely regulated exercise of the limited freedom which he actually possesses. Man is endowed with this relative and dynamic freedom in the *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* of *Śiva-Śakti*, and this freedom and the concomitant moral consciousness and consciousness of duties and responsibilities form a glorious aspect of the cosmic self-expression of the Divinity.

It may be noted that perfect freedom pertains to the essential character of the Spirit, and that in the cosmic self-expression of the Spirit there are various grades of the manifestation of this freedom. In the World of Matter this freedom appears to be practically unmanifested; in the world of Life it is very slightly manifested, the *consciousness* of freedom being absent there. In the world of non-rational (animal) Mind there is greater manifestation of freedom than in the world of Life, but here also there is no distinct consciousness of freedom and hence no moral consciousness. It is in the World of Reason

or Rational Mind that the Consciousness of partial conditioned relative freedom is associated with Moral Consciousness or the Consciousness of *Dharma*, and the phenomenal expressions of this consciousness of relative freedom are the special objects of Moral Judgement or Judgement of *Dharma*. Though *Dharma* is all pervading and underlies all the spheres of phenomenal existences in this Cosmic System, the sphere of conscious relative freedom constitutes the special sphere of *Dharma* in this system. Here moral discrimination is prominently manifested.

The Moral Consciousness of man, which is alienably associated with the Consciousness of Limited Freedom, has an inherent faith in the reign of *Dharma* in this objective universe in which he lives and moves and finds ample scope for the exercise of this freedom. He believes that in this cosmic system virtue is rewarded with happiness as well as with favourable conditions for the progress and elevation of life and mind and intellect, and vice is punished with misery as well as with favourable and undesirable conditions. He believes that according to the Law of *Dharma* in the cosmic system every individual enjoys and suffers the sweet and bitter fruits of his own good and evil deeds.—of the proper and improper use of his partial freedom,—in the physical and the mental planes. His moral consciousness creates in him the confidence that every individual is the builder of his own destiny, that the cosmic order returns in due course to every individual just what he *deserves* on account of the merits and demerits of his own actions? This is called the *Law of Karma* by Indian philosophers. It implies the reign of *Dharma* in the cosmic process,—the Law of Moral Justice ruling over even the apparently physical and non-moral phenomena in this cosmic system , at least in so far as they affect the enjoyments and sufferings of the relatively free living beings and present to them favourable or unfavourable conditions for their self-expression and self-development. This faith in the reign of *Dharma* in the cosmic process awakens in the human mind a sense of moral dignity and a dynamic sense of duty and responsibility in practical life.

Just as man's intellectual consciousness manifested in his valied perception and inference and reasoning is the guarantee for the objective reality of natural order in the cosmic system, so his moral consciousness stands as the guarantee for the objective reality of *Dharma* or the *moral order* in this system. The Cosmic Body of *Śiva-Śakti* reveals itself to the intellectual consciousness as a *natural order* and to the moral consciousness as a *moral order*,—as a world of *Dharma*.

It is this strong faith in the reign of *Dharma* in the cosmic order, which is at the basis of the doctrine of *Rebirth*,—birth after birth and assumptions of newer and newer physical embodiments under newer and newer circumstances according to moral deserts,—which is accepted practically by all schools of Indian philosophy. In every birth an individual ego enjoys and suffers the sweet and bitter fruits of the good and evil deeds of previous births and gets fresh opportunities for the fulfilment of the demands of his moral consciousness. This continues till the individual rises to a higher plane of consciousness and transcends the domain of *Dharma*. A Yogi with his refined Moral and Intellectual Consciousness can recollect a number of his past births and can also know the past births of other persons through the concentration of his attention in the direction.

Sixthly, in this Cosmic Body of Śiva-Śakti there is a world of *Rasa* (Aesthetic Order). This is specially revealed to the refined Aesthetic Consciousness of man. *Rasa* pervades the entire Cosmic Body. It makes the whole universe a magnificently *beautiful order*. All forms and all grades of realities in this infinitely diversified universe are elements of Beauty, and they all participate in and contribute to the Beauty of the entire cosmic system. The wonderfully interrelated and intermingled worlds of Matter, Life, Mind and Reason are all impregnated with the Beauty of the whole system, and they all play their allotted parts wonderfully for giving expression to the Beauty inherent in the nature of the sportive delightful self-manifestation of Śiva-Śakti in this Cosmic Organism. All the moral distinctions appearing in the world of *Dharma* are merged and beautified in the world of *Rasa*. All good and evil, all virtue and vice, all right and wrong, that are evolved in the cosmic process and particularly in the human nature, are appreciated and enjoyed as elements of Beauty by the refined Aesthetic Consciousness, which experiences the *Rasa* manifested in and through all such moral dualisms of the world of *Dharma*.

The refined Aesthetic Consciousness that habitually dwells in the world of *Rasa* finds as much beauty in destruction as in creation, as much beauty in the violent and furious forces of nature as in the benign and beneficent forces, as much beauty in the distresses and agonies in the world of living creatures as in their happinesses and prosperities. It appreciates and enjoys the beauty and sublimity of the whole Cosmic Body of the Supreme Spirit and experiences the whole reflected in every part, in every particularised manifestation of the whole. A man whose enlightened Aesthetic Consciousness prevails over his mental intellectual and moral consciousness has the delightful experience that he really lives and moves and has his being in a world of *Rasa*, in a world of all-harmonising and all-sweeting Beauty, whatever may be the outer appearances of the phenomena occurring around him. Accordingly he feels a deep love and admiration for this Cosmic System,—a love and admiration for all that play their allotted parts in this beautiful order and contribute to the infinite grandeur and magnificence and variety of this beautiful self-expression of the Supreme Spirit.

To the Aesthetic Consciounsness of man, the *Rasa* pervading the Cosmic system manifests itself in a variety of phenomenal forms, which excite different kinds of feelings and emotions and sentiments in the minds, but are all the same appreciated and enjoyed as beautiful and delightful. Philosophers reflecting upon *Rasa-tattwa* (the nature of *Rasa*) enumerate various forms of its manifestations, such as,—*Madhura* (sweet or lovable, exciting the feeling of joy), *Karuna* (pathetic or tragic, exciting the feeling of compassion or sadness), *Vīra* (heroic or courageous, exciting the feeling of admiration), *Rudra* (majestic, exciting the feeling of surprise or astonishment), *Sānta* (calm and serene, exciting the feeling of disgust or repulsion), and so on. In fact the various forms of manifestation of *Rasa* cannot be exhaustively enumerated, and the various kinds of feelings excited by them cannot also be adequately described. What is remarkable is that what appears as *Bībhatsa* or *Bhīsana* or *Karuna* in our normal experience,—whether in the physical world or in the animal world or in the human world,—and excites in our minds

the feeling of repulsion or dread or sadness, is also a form of manifestation of Rasa or the Beauty immanent in this Cosmic Order and is appreciated and enjoyed as such by refined and enlightened Aesthetic Consciousness.

We fail to appreciate and enjoy beauty of many phenomena of our ordinary experience, because our mind and sense are not properly disciplined and illumined to see them in their true perspective, to view them in relation to the whole of which they are parts, to recognise their true places and functions in this beautiful cosmic order. Persons with well-developed Aesthetic Consciousness often described this luniverse with all the diverse kinds of beings and phenomena in it as a Greak Work of Art, in which everything is in its most appropriate place and in which all parts (whatever may be their apparent divergences and antagonisms when viewed in isolation from one another) contribute to and participate in the sublime beauty of the whole. Sometimes they describe this universe as one ever-continuous flow of the finest and richest Music and enjoy all phenomena as the modes and modulations and rhythms of the same eternal and infinite Music. Sometimes it is described as a great Epic Poem or great Drama. A Mahāyogi enjoys the beauty and sublimity of all forms of phenomenal self-expressions of Śiva-Śakti and describes them as *Cid-Vilāsa.*

Seventhly, this *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* of *Śkiva-Śakti* is a world of *Ānanda* (Spiritual Bliss). This *Ānandamaya* aspects of the cosmic order is revealed to and enjoyed by the Illumined Spiritual Consciousness of man,—the consciousness of *Mahāyogis, Mahājñānis, Mahābhaktas.* All joys and sorrows of our common experiences are to this consciousness elements of *Ānanda* and are enjoyed as such. Phenomenal speaking, *Ānanda* implies the perfect fulfilment of existence, fulfilment of life and power, fulfilment of mind and reason, fulfilment of morality and religion, fulfilment of goodness and beauty. The perfect fulfilment of all the aspects of this cosmic self-expression of Śiva-Śakti is unveiled to the empirical consciousness, which is perfectly illumined by the Spiritual Light of the ultimate character of Śiva-Śakti,—*i.e.*, the transcendent and dynamic, self-luminous and self-revealing, nature of the one non dual Supreme Spirit.

Truly speaking, this *Ānanda* is the real and eternal nature of the Supreme Spirit,—Śiva in eternal and perfect union with His Śakti,—and all the grades and all the forms of self-manifestation of the Supreme Spirit are the manifold expressions of His *Ānanda.* Accordingly the *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* or the Cosmic Body of the Supreme Spirit is also a variegated spatio-temporal expression of the *Ānanda* of the Spirit. All the constituent elements of the physical universe, called *Mahābhutas* or *Mahātattwas* by the *Yogis*, are self-embodiments of *Ānanda.* All matter and Life and Mind and Reason, which are evolved in this Cosmic Body, are forms to self expression of this *Ānanda.* All the dualities of the world of mind and senses and the world of *Dharma,* all the varieties of aesthetic enjoyments in the world of *Rasa,*—all these evolve from and are pervaded by the Ānanda of the Supreme Spirit; *Ānanda* is immament in them all. All the apparent imperfections and evils and vices and miseries, which we ordinarily experience in this world, have got *Ānanda* as the Reality behind and within them. In truth, there is no reality save and except *Ānanda* in this universe. Hence it is proclaimed in the Upanishad that all the phenomenal realities of this

universe are born from *Ānanda* they are all sustained by *Ānanda* they all move towards the full realisation of *Ānanda* and they are all ultimately merged in *Ānanda*. The universe is nothing but *Ānanda* in a variety of forms in time and space. The true knowledge of this universe is the realisation of it as the diversified manifestation of *Ānanda*, which is the essential nature of the Supreme Spirit. *Mahāyogis, Mahājñānis* and *Mahābhaktas* realise themselves as well as the universe as *Ānandamaya.*

It is pointed out by the Yogi-philosophers that such classification and gradation of different worlds or different orders of existence and experiences in the Cosmic Boy of Śiva-Śakti can never be complete or exhaustic or certain. From different view-points different principles of classification and gradation may be adopted, and accordingly classification and gradation would assume different forms. To different orders of phenomenal consciousness, different worlds or orders of existence are revealed, and these consciousness also are evolved in this Cosmic Body. Moreover, all such classifications and gradations are based on human experience and speculation, and who can certify that human experience and thought can reach all the aspects of the Cosmic System,—all the modes of cosmic self-expression of the Supreme Spirit,—or that human experience and thought must be recognised as the sole and sure ascertainer of the true and entire nature of the Cosmic Order?

The human consciousness may, through the intensive practice of the appropriate *yogic* methods of self-concentration and self-enlightenment, be capable of rising above the limitations of phenomenal knowledge, transcending the Cosmic Order, and becoming perfectly united with the Supreme Spirit, Who is the Soul of the Cosmicorder, the Soul of all phenomenal existences. But that does not necessarily mean that such enlightened human consciousness can attain perfect and thorough knowledge of the entire phenomenal Cosmic Body of the Supreme Spirit,—of all the infinitely diversified spatio-temporal self-manifestations of Śiva-Śakti. The phenomenal experience and knowledge of even a perfectly enlightened Mahāyogi can not be expected to be all-comprehensive. What is called *sarvajñatā* (omniscience) of a *Mahāyogi* does not mean the phenomenal knowledge of all the details of this Cosmic System, but the intutive or spiritual knowledge of the Ultimate Truth of all existences.

The infinite richness of the various aspects of the *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda* of Śiva-Śakti is unfathomable even to the highest order of human intelligence,—even to the most spiritually illumined empirical consciousness of a *Mahāyogi, Mahājñāni, Mahābhakta.* Hence the Scriptures speak of innumerable *Brahmāndas* (worlds) of different kinds of ths Cosmic Body of the Supreme Spirit. The human experience and knowledge are confined only within one *Brahmānda*, which also is too rich in contents to be fully comprehend. Many scriptures have enumerated fourteen *Lokas* or *Bhuvanas* in this *Brahmānda.* These are mentioned by Gorakhnath also. We are dwellers of *Bhuh.* Above this *Bhuh* there are *Bhuvah, Swah, Mahah, Jana, Tapah, Satya,* which are gradually higher and higher world, inhabited by higher and higher orders of beings, each being presided over by Divine Personalities. There are lower worlds also, such as *Atala, vitala, Sutala, Mahātala, Talātala, Rasātala, Pātāla,* (S.S.P. III. 2-4).

Various orders or *Swarga* and Naraka also have been enumerated. All these point to the inconceivable greatness of the Cosmic Body of Śiva-Śakti. This Body is ever-new, ever-fresh, ever-young, through the processes of creation and transformation and destruction, and has no beginning or end either in time or in space and no limit to the varieties within its unity.

In *Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati* Mahāyog Gorakhnath makes mention of various worlds,—various orders of existences and experiences,—in the Cosmic Body of Śiva-Śakti, and, as it will be seen hereafter, he shows how all these worlds can be experienced by a *Yogi* within the individual body, which he describes as the epitome of the Cosmic Body. Besides the seven lower worlds and the seven higher worlds named above, he also specifies a number of still higher worlds,—such as, *vishnu-loka, Rudraloka, Iśwaraloka, Nilakanthaloka, Śivaloka, Bhairavaloka, Anāndiloka, Kulaloka, Akulaloka, para Brahmaloka, Parāpara loka, Śakti loka.* As it has been remarked before, the Mahāyogi never presumes that such enumeration is or can be exhaustive. It is rather suggestive. It suggests how the infinite greatness of the Cosmic Body of the Supreme Spirit should be contemplated upon. The *yoga-system* which he preaches teaches every spiritual aspirant not only to contemplate upon the infinite expanse, infinite complexity, infinite grandeur, infinite beauty, infinite goodness, infinite richness, perfect order and harmony, perfect inner unity amidst the most bewildering outer diversities, of the cosmic self-expression of the Supreme Spirit, but also to realise through the most intensive contemplation and meditation the infinite greatness and sacredness of his own individual body and its essential identity with the Cosmic Body.

Samarasakaraṇa of the *Vyasti-pinda* (individual body) with the *Samasti-pinda* (Cosmic Body),—the realisation of the same *rasa* or the same spiritual infinity and beauty and bliss within the self and the universe—is the grand ideal preached by the Siddha-Yog school. The ideal of *Samarasakaraṇa* of the Yogi-school differs, as we shall see more clearly later on, from the ideal of *Brahmātma-jñāna* of the *Adwaita-Vedānta* school, which preaches the illusoriness of the Cosmic System and all individual existences and consciousness within it and the metaphysical identity of *Brahma* (as free from the *upādhi* of this illusory cosmic order) and the individual *Ātmā* (as liberated from the *upādhi* of the false individual body, individual consciousness and individual existence). The Yogi-school preaches the spiritual ideal of *Samarasakaraṇa* of *Brahma* (together with all His cosmic self-manifestations) and the individual *Ātmā* (with his individual consciousness perfectly illumined by Brahma-consciousness and his individual psycho-physical organism reflecting the glories of the Cosmic Body of Brahma). The Yogi teachers accordingly present to us a glorious conception of the phenomenal universe, which is a real manifestation of the infinite glory of the Unique *Śakti* of Brahma of Śiva, and want to awaken is us the consciousness that we are also real participators in the glory of this *Mahāśakti* and that what are manifested in the Cosmos are manifested in us as well.

The Siddha-Yogi school, in general agreement with most other important Indian schools of philosophy and religion, maintains the view that every *world* in this phenom-

enai Cosmic System has got three essentialy interrelated aspects; called *ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika and ādhidaivika*. The *ādhyātmika* aspect implies a certain plane of phenomenal consciousness and a certain order of phenomenal experiences, with an appropriate system of instruments (*indriya or karana*) of knowledge and feeling and action for the differentiated self-expressions of this consciousness and forgiving definite particularised forms to its experiences. The *ādhibhautika* aspect implies a certain order of objective realities constitue the embodiment of this consciousness, the external region in which it finds scope for self-expression in manifold forms of knowledge and feeling and desire and action, as well as the varieties of objects which appear and disappear in this region and are perceived as real in this plane of consciousness.

The *ādhyātmika* and the *ādhibhautikan* aspects may be regarded as the subjective and the objective—or as the physical and the physical,—manifestations of the realities of the same order, and neither has any evidence of its existence except as related to the other. e.g., the *ādhibhautika jagat* (objective world) in which we now actually live has the proof of its existence and its special nature in our sensuous experiences;—this world so extensive in space and so continuous in time with all the varieties of sounds and colours and tastes and smells and shapes and sizes, with all the phenomena of heat, light, electricity, etc., with all the history of its evolution and the emergence of various species of beings within it, is a real world *only* in relation to our specially constituted senses of perception and minds and intellects. This system of specially constituted senses and minds and intellects is the *ādhyātmika* or subjective aspect of our world, and the evidence of the reality of these senses and minds and intellects lies in their revelation of those objects. The eyes are the proof of the existence of colours and the perception of colours is the proof of the existence of the eyes. They are so interrelated that they are legitimately supposed to have a common source of existence. That is the case with all the rest. Every order of phenomenal existence has an *ādhyātmika* and an *ādhibhautika* aspect, each contributing to the revelation of the reality of the other. It is held that in every world there is a distinctive *ādhyātmika* system for experiencing objective realities and a distinctive *ādhibhautiaka* order of realities capable of being objects of experience to that psychical system.

The *ādhidaivika* aspect of a world implies that every particular world in the Cosmic Body of Śiva-Śakti is a well designed well-ordered system, governed by a Divine Spiritual Agency, i.e. a glorious Spiritual Manifestation of Śiva-Śakti, a great *Devatā*, who governs and harmonises all the affairs of this world and maintains its unity and continuity amidst all its varieties and changes, Who is revealed as the Special Indwelling Spirit of this particular world and Who stands as the guarantee for the correspondence and correlativity of its *ādhyātmika* and *āadhbhautika* aspects. Each world has its own *Adhisthātrī Devatā* or Presiding Deity, Who keeps up its organic unity and shines as its Life and Soul, and every such Deity is a Special Spiritual Self-Revelation of Śiva-Śakti. In each world the Presiding or Central Deity again manifests himself as a number of Minor Deities, who are often called *Anga-Devatā* (meaning that they are like limbs or organs of the Central Deity), and who appear as active Spiritual Agencies governing and harmonising particu-

lar departments of the *ādhyātmika* and *ādhibhautika* aspects of the world. Thus the Scriptures speak of numerous *Devatās* with varieties of characters and powers and functions in relation to the same world. They are all specialised Spiritual Self-Revelations of Śiva-Śakti in this infinite and eternal Cosmic Body, and as such are non-different from Śiva-Śakti. Thes *Devatās* have phenomenal realities of a higher order than ourselves and the objects of our normal experience. All the various orders of worlds with their *ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika* and *ādhidaivika* aspects are perfectly organised and harmonised and unified by the spiritual immanence of the Supreme *Devatā,—Paramātmā, Para-Brahma, Śiva,* with His infinite Divine *Śakti*. The entire Cosmic System, comprising all orders of world, is thus a magnificent self-manifestation of the Absolute Spirit and is therefore rightly conceived as essentialay a spiritual system. This is *Mahā-Sākāra-Pinda of the* Absolute Spirit, according to Gorakhnath and the school of enlightened Yogis.

20
Cosmic Purusha

Having thus expounded the gradual self-unfoldment of Śakti within the spiritual transcendent nature of Śiva, Gorakhnath concludes that in this way the Supreme Spiritual Body of Śiva is born, in which all the qualities of all the five stages of Śakti's internal self-unfoldment are harmoniously manifested and organised as it were in His Self-Consciousness. This Supreme Spiritual Body of the Absolute Spirit is called by the Siddha-Yogis *Para-Pinda. "Evam ca Śakti-tattwe panca-panca-guna-yogāt Parapindotpattih."* (I.I. 15) Gorakhnath summarises his statement by quoting an earlier authority. He says,—"*Uktam ca,—Nijā-Parā-Aparā-Sukshmā-Kundalinī āsu pancadhā, Śakti-tattva-kramena-uttho jātah Pindah Parah Sivah.*"—It has been said (by recognised enlightened Mahā-Yogis) that Śiva was born (*jāta*) as it were as *Para-Pinda* (Supreme Body) through the progressive evolution of *Śiva-Tattwa* within His nature in the five forms of *Nijā, Parā, Aparā, Sukshmā* and *Kundalinī* with their characteristic attributes.

It is to be carefully remembered that through on account of the natural limitations of our power of thinking as well as of our power of giving verbal expression to our thoughts we have to describe the so-called progressive self-unfoldment of the eternally inherent *Śakti* of the Absolute Spirit in the language of temporal succession and development; the time-factor in our empirical sense does not really exist there in the spiritual plane and does not condition the self-unfoldment and self-awakening of *Śakti* in the nature of Śiva. Every stage of the self-unfoldment *Śakti* and Śiva's *vilāsa* (self-enjoyment) in it is eternal. Śiva's birth as *Para-Piṇda* is also not a temporal phenomenon. What is described in our exposition as a succeeding stage does not come into being by superseding the preceding stages and destroying their characteristics. Our intellectual conception of the gradualness of the self-unfoldment of *Śakti* in the nature of Śiva is not to be construed as anything more than a mere mental analysis and reconstruction of the various phases of the superglorious character of the Divine Spiritual Power in the spatio-temporal form of our empirical knowledge.

Śiva is in truth eternally endowed with and glorified by all the phases of self-unfoldment of His Śakti, and all the characteristic features of all the stages are wonderfully adjusted and assimilated in the all-comprehending all-assimilating all-enjoying

spiritual consciousness of Śiva. The attributes of the different stages of *Śakti*, as described, may from our plane of experience often appear contradictory to one another. But Śiva's Consciousness is the meeting-ground of all contradictory qualities (sarva-virodhi-gunāśraya). He enjoys *nirvikalpa samādhi* alongwith the active waking state.

The birth of *Para-Pinda* means the self-manifestation of the Supreme Spirit as the Supreme Individual (*Parama-Purusha*) with all His eternal and infinite glorious powers and attributes and with full consciousness of all these powers and attributes, while retaining the perfect calmness and tranquility of His self-luminous transcendent nature. In the language of Yogācārya Patanjali's *yoga-Sutra*, He is perfectly free from any touch of *Kleśa, Karma, Vipāka*, and *Āśaya*, but all the same. He is *Purusha-Viśesha*. *Kleśa*, according to Patanjali, means *Avidyā* (Ignorance), *Asmitā* (Egohood), *Rāga* (Attachment), *Dwesha* (Aversion), *Abhiniveśa* (Lust of life or Fear of death). *Karma* means actions which are voluntary and born of desires with a view to the attainment of certain desired consequences or the realisation of some unrealised ideals. *Vipāka* means the fruits of such actions, which have to be reaped (enjoyed or suffered) by the performers in accordance with the law of Karma. *Āśaya* means the impressions which remain deep-seated in the sub-conscious mind on account of such *kleśa, karma* and *vipāka* and originate new *karma*, new *kleśa* and new *vipāka*. These are the general characteristics associated with the conception of phenomenal individuality.

But the Divine Individual is eternally free from the bondage of such characteristics, but is still a *Purusha-Viśesha*,—a perfectly self-conscious Personality. He has absolutely no imperfection in His nature, either in respect of existence, or in respect of power, or in respect of knowledge and wisdom, or in respect of moral and aesthetic excellence, or in respect of spiritual illumination. He is perfectly active and perfectly inactive. He perfectly enjoys the bliss of His transcendent nature within Himself, and nevertheless there is in Him an urge for His manifesting and enjoying Himself in diversities of names and forms in a spatio-temporal cosmic order. He is absolutely clam and tranquil, but still He feels within Himself a tremendous upheaval, as it were, for creative action, for self-diversification. He is absolutely indifferent to the cosmic affairs and is in eternal *samādhi* with Himself, and at the same time. He is the indwelling Spirit in all these affairs, the Inspirer and Regulator of all processes, the Soul of the whole phenomenal order, he sees the entire spatio-temporal system within Himself and Himself in every part of it, and yet there is absolutely no perturbation in the unity of His consciousness. he dwells in the phenomenal and the transcendent planes at the same time.

It may be remarked in this connection that though Patañjali's *Yoga-Sūtra* is a highly admirable exposition of the main philosophical doctrines as well as of the ideals and methods of self-discipline of the *Yogi-Sampradāya*, His conception of Iśwara (or Śiva) does not appear to be exactly the same as the conception of Śiva or the Supreme *Purusha* of Gorakhnath and the *Siddha-Yogi* school. Patanjali mostly adopted the metaphysical view of the *Sānkhya* School of Kapila, who was universally adored as the *Ādi-Vidwān* (probably meaning the First Philosopher) among the *Siddha-Yogis*. In the *Bhagavat-Gitā* Kapila is specially mentioned as a glorious self-manifestations (*Vibhuti*) of God in the

community of Siddhas:—"*Siddhānām kapilo Munih.*" But Kapila had no place for God or Eternal Iśwara in his philosophy, as promulgated in the direct line of his followers. According to his metaphysical reasoning, the Ultimate Material Cause of the world-roder is one non-spiritual self-modifying Entity, called *Mulā-Prakriti*, with which innumerable inactive pure *spirits* (essentially of the nature of changeless self-luminous consciousness), called *purusha*, are somehow eternally associated (by way of *aviveka* or indiscrimination). *Prakriti* and *Puruṣas* are eternally or opposite characters.

All orders of phenomenal existence gradually evolve from *Prakriti*, and *Puruṣas*, though pure and changeless, are *somehow* associated with them as their *souls*. All individual bodies, together with all senses, minds, egos and intellects, are the products of the non-spiritual non-conscious *Prakriti*, while the souls are mere witness-consciousness. But the souls are somehow through *Avidyā* falsely identified with psycho-physical bodies and hence they become apparently subject to sufferings. They are in course of time blessed with True Knowledge and released from this flase self-identification with the products of *Prakriti* and are restored to their own essential spiritual character.

In Kapila's philosophy no self-existent self-conscious infinite and eternal Absolute Spirit is provable by logical reasoning based on our normal experience,—(*Iśwarā-siddhen pramānābhāvāt*),—nor is it necessary to admit the existence of such Absolute Spirit to account for this cosmic system. His philosophical system is very strongly argumentative. From very ancient times many truth-seekers followed his path from the philosophical view-point. Maharshi Patañjali also mainly adopted his metaphysical view, while expounding the Yoga-system of discipline. He however seems to have somewhat differed from him in recognising the eternal self-existence of Iśwar as the perfectly enlightened *Purusha-Viśesha*. He recognised Him as the Supreme Ideal for all-*Yogis* as well as the Supreme Source of all Spiritual illumination. According to him, perfect omniscience is eternally and essentially present in Him, and He is the eternal *Guru* (Giver or Divine Light) of all truth-seekers of all ages. He proclaimed that deep meditation on *Iśwara* was one of the most effective means to the speedy attainment of *Samādhi* and experience of the Ultimate Truth. But he did not admit Him as the Sole and Supreme Cause of the cosmic order,—as the One who manifests and enjoys Himself as the changing plurality of the world.

In agreement with all *Siddha-Yogis* Patañjali holds that Iśwara or Śiva is eternally *Mahā-Yogīśwara, Mahā-Jñānīśwara, Mahā-Tyāgīśwara*, that all *yogis, jñānis* and *tyāgis* of all ages look up to Him and contemplate on Him as the Supreme Personality in Whom the highest ideals of *yoga, Jñāna* and *Tyāga* are eternally and absolutely realised and who is the perpetual fountain of inspiration, hope and strength in their path of self-discipline, self-elevation and self-enlightenment. Patañjali maintains that He is the Supreme Lord of *Prakriti* in the sense that He by virtue of His perfect Self knowledge eternally transcends *Prakriti* and Her cosmic processes and that Prakriti can never bring Him under any sort of bondage. Patanjali further admits His mercy and compassion upon the souls (*purushas*) under the bondage of *Prakriti* and the power of this mercy and compassion in delivering them from apparent bondage and sorrow through the bestowal of true spiritual

enlightenment upon them. But he does not seem to admit that this Divine *Puruṣa-Viśesha* is Master of *Prakriti* in the sense that He governs the course of Her evolution and rules over all the affairs of the world, or in the sense that *Prakriti* depends upon Him for Her existence and self-unfoldment.

To Patañjali as well as to Kapila, *Prakriti* is a self-existent and self-evolving non-spiritual reality and does not depend for Her existence and evolution upon Iśwara. Gorakhnath and the true *Siddha-yogi* school fundamentally differ from this view. According to their conception, *Prakriti* is one aspect of the inherent *Śakti* of the Supreme *Purusha*,—Śiva or Iśwara or Brahma,—and has no existence apart from the existence of the *Purusha*. Evolution of Prakriti is nothing but the self-unfoldment of the Divine Power. The cosmic system is in their view the self-manifestation of Iśwara. He is therefore, the Absolute master of *Prakriti* in every sense. *Prakriti* is accordingly not a non-spiritual independent reality, but essentially a spiritual self-manifestations of the One Non-dual Supreme Spirit; each of them is essentially *Śiva* in a particular psycho-physical embodiment. Thus the conception of Iśwara as conceived by Gorakhnath and the Siddha-Yogi School. Again, according to Kapil and Patanjali, every *purusha* or *jeeva* (individual spirit), in the state of *Moksha* or *Kaivalya*, becomes perfectly dissociated from *Prakriti*, but retains its individuality and exists eternally as pure *Cit* (pure transcendent Consciousness), distinct from all other liberated *purushas* as well as from *Iśwara* (of Patanjali's system); while according to Gorakhnath and the Siddhayogi school every such liberated *purusha* realises its identity with *Iśwara* or *Śiva* and thus attains *Śivahood* and experiences *Prakriti* or *Śakti* as non-different from itself.

Gorakhnath and the Siddha-Yogi school have used the term *Para-Piṇḍa* to signify the Supreme Personality of the Absolute Spirit with His gradually self-unfolding Śakti, the Mother of the phenomenal cosmic system. The term *Pinda* means an *organised whole*, a living unity of may parts, a one consisting of an unifying a plurality. In it the whole exists in every part, the one pervades and enlivens and harmonises each of the plurality of parts, though the constituent parts may have their distinctive qualities of characteristics. Again, all the parts exist in and for the whole, the fulfilment of their distinctive characteristics and the final purposes of their existences also lie in the whole. The parts may be more and more multiplied, they themselves may be organised wholes of still smaller parts, they may undergo changes and transformations; but all their self-multiplications and self-divisions and self-transformations take place within the whole and they all participate in the unity of the life of the whole. The parts with all their changes contribute to the life-history of the whole, and the life-power of the whole determines the course of the changes of the parts. The parts are parts only in relation to the whole, and the whole is whole only in relation to the parts. They are interrelated. The primary point to be noted is that unity pervades the diversities.

Gorakhnath seems to attach some special importance to the term *Pinda*, and uses the term very often in various contexts. His intention appears to be to emphasise the truth of the unity of diversities in all planes of existence,—from the highest spiritual plane to the lowest physical plane. He teaches the truth-seekers to carefully observe that all our

conceptions of concrete realities in all the planes of our knowledge and thought involve the idea of unity of diversities. All diversities in every sphere of our knowledge and thought involve unity underlying them, unifying them as parts or organs of one whole; and all unities also are found through deeper analysis to the wholes consisting of parts,—subtler and subtler constituents. Accordingly even in the highest lane of Spiritual Reality Gorakhnath rejects pure Non-dualism of the extreme Vedantists as well as pure Dualism of the *Dwaita-Vādis* and pure Pluralism of *Bahupadārtha-vādis.* On the other hand in the lowest physical plane also he rejects the doctrine of the plurality of unrelated material units of *paramānus* integrated and dis-integrated by external causes. The Non-dual Spirit is to him embodied with His own Śakti, which is non-different from Him. The Absolute Reality is therefore neither purely non-dual nor purely dual nor plural. He applies this principle everywhere. The idea appears to be confirmed by our experience of *living organisms,*—from those that are infinitely small (*e.g.* bacilli) to those that are majestically great. The whole universe in conceived as one organism, comprising countless orders of organisms,—one *Smasti Pinda* comprising innumerable orders of *Vyasti-Pindas.*

The Absolute Spirit conscious of Himself as one infinite and eternal self-perfect Individual through the awakening of the *Śakti* immanent in His nature has been called *Para-Pinda* (Supreme Organisms). Gorakhnath describes this *Para-Piṇḍa* of Śiva,—the self-conscious spiritual individuality of the Absolute Spirit,—as consisting of five forms of spiritual consciousness, all shining at the same time without overshadowing each other in His all-comprehensive Divine Self-consciousness. These five forms are,—

Aparamparam Paramapadam Śunyam Niranjanam Paramātmeti. (S.S.P.I. 17). The Mahā-Yogi has attempted to make the character of each of them intelligible or at least conceivable to ordinary truth-seekers by describing each in terms of psychological concepts, though he was himself quite conscious of the inadequacy of such descriptions. *Aparamparam,* he says, implies *sphuratā-mātram.* It gives us the idea of one changeless and differenceless self-effulgent transcendent consciousness, in which there is not race of even any subtle distinction between the Spirit and His *Śakti.* This refers to the pure consciousness of the Absolute Spirit in relation to His *Nija-Śakti,* when She is completely hidden in His transcendent nature, *i.e.,* when the dynamic aspect of the Spirit is wholly unmanifested. In the Personal Self-consciousness of *Para-Pinda Śiva* this pure self-less consciousness shines as the chief constituent factor.

Parama-Padam, he says, implies *bhāvanā-mātram.* This refers to the subtle unfoldment of the dynamic aspect of the Spirit as *Parā-Śakti* when in the Divine Consciousness there is subtle form of *reflection* upon Her. The Spirit then becomes as it were Witness to His Śakti and by this mere act of *witnessing* (which is truly speaking no act at all) inspires Her with a creative urge. The Divine Consciousness in this form of a pure disinterested Witness of His Creative Power, it may be noted, is often meditated upon by the Yogis as the Supreme Ideal (*Parama-Pada*) to be realised by them through their Sādhanā within their own consciousness.

Śunya, according to Gorakhnath, implies *Swa-sattāmātram, i.e,* pure self-existence. The Divine Consciousness in here is the form of a pure empty background or substratum

of His self-vibrating *Śakti* rich with infinite potentialities. This refers to the stage of the unfoidment of His *Śakti* as *Apara-Śakti*, in which Śakti appears to be vibrating for phenomenal self-expression, and Śiva appears to hide Himself behind the scene altogether and become a void as it were from the phenomenal view-point, though illuminating and enthusing Śakti from within as Her Soul and Lord. Many Yogis meditate on and worship Śiva, the Absolute Spirit, as Śunya, in order to be absolutely liberated from the sense of *Me* and *Mine*. They seem to practise what may be called self-annihilation for the purpose of the attainment of absolute liberation from all kinds of bondage and sorrow.

Ninanjana is explained by Gorakhnath as *Swa-Sākshātkāra-mātram,—i.e.*, the Absolute Spirit experiencing Himself as pure *I*,—as the true Self, distinguished from and transcending His own Śakti. He is in this form of His consciousness conscious of Himself as the Seer (*Śākshī*) of His own self-evolving Power. His self-consciousness involves a duality within His non-dual nature,—some sort of *Dwaita-adwaita* relationship,—the consciousness of a subtle distinction between Himself as the eternally changeless witnessing Spirit and Himself as the eternally self-evolving *Śakti*. He feels within Himself the pulsations of His dynamic nature and at the same time fells Himself as absolutely unmoved and untouched and unaffected by these pulsations. This refers to the unfoldment of His dynamic character as *sukshmā-Śakti*, in which the manifestation of the I-ness in the transcendent nature of the Absolute Spirit is the important feature. This for of consciousness represents the realisation of perfectly pure *I-consciousness* transcending all kinds of limitation and impurities and bondages. May Yogis meditate on the Supreme Spirit as *niranjana* with a view to the realisation of this perfectly pure and free and blissful *I-consciousness* within themselves.

The fifth form of the all-comprehensive consciousness of Śiva is the consciousness of Himself as *Parmātmā*, meaning the Universal Soul,—the Soul and Lord of the Divine Mother of the universe, *Kundalinī-Śakti*. He feels Himself as possessed of infinite power, infinite wealth, infinite goodness, infinite beauty, infinite wisdom, infinite love, etc., and he fells within Himself an impulse of delight to play with all these through His unique *Śakti* in an infinite variety of forms in a phenomenal cosmic system of time and space and relativity. As *paramātmā* the Absolute Spirit is conscious of Himself with His *Śakti* in an infinite variety of forms in a phenomenal cosmic system of time and space and relativity. As *paramātmā* the Absolute Spirit is conscious of Himself with His *Śakti* as the most perfect Spiritual Personality, eternally enjoying the infinite richness of His self-existent nature in His transcendent self-consciousness as well as in His phenomenal self-manifestations.

Gorakhnath describes the character of each of these forms of Divine Consciousness according to his usual practice by means of enumerating five *gunas* and then concludes that the character of Śiva as *Para-Pinda* is a perfect harmony of all the twenty-five *gunas* of all of them. Within the Self-consciousness of *Para-Pinda* all forms and all stages of consciousness are most wonderfully harmonised and unified. He is the Supreme Divinity comprsing all Divinities. With the self-unfoldment of His *Śakti* His self-conscious Personality is glorified.

This *Para-Pinda* is also called by the *Siddha-Yogis Anādi-Pinda* as well as *Ādi Pinda*, meaning that this Divine Individuality is without any beginning or origination, without any Cause or Higher Source of existence, and that this is the *Ādi* or the Supreme Source of all other *pindas* or individualised existences.

This *Anādi-Pinda* or the Uncreated and All-creating Divine Personality is further explained as unfolding Himself into five glorious self-revelations, *viz.*, *Paramānanda, Prabodha, Cid-udaya, Prakāśa* and *Soham-bhāva*. *Paramānanda* implies that there is an upheaval of emotional delight in His tranquil nature. This is characterised by *Spanda* (some sort of agitation in the consciousness), *Harsha* (some thrilling sensation), *Utsāha* (some sort of enthusiasm in the being), and at the time *Nishpanda* (perfect calmness) and *Nitya-sukhatwam* (unemotional enjoyment of eternal bliss within). Thus a great wave of emotional *ānanda* seems to activate His nature without disturbing the inner current of tranquil self-enjoyment, which is the essential character of His self-consciousness.

Prabodha implies that there is as it were a new phenomenal *awakenment* in His transcendent self-conscious nature. He is as it were newly awakened from a state of deep sleep, which is truly speaking a state of *Samādhi*. The light of His self-illumined consciousness now falls upon and illuminates all the aspects of His glorious nature seeking for phenomenal self-expression. This is explained as characterised by such attributes, as, *Udaya* (the rising of the consciousness above the horizon of the perfectly tranquil non-differentiated state), *Ullāsa* (some sort of upheaval in the essentially tranquil nature for objective self-manifestation), *Avabhāsa* (experience of the spiritual contents of His own nature as objective realities), *Vikāsa* (experience of the self evolution of His *Śakt*), and *Prabhā* (shedding lustre upon all the aspects of His all pervading existence).

By *Cid-udaya* Gorakhnath means the self-manifestation of the Transcendent Consciousness as the self-knowing and all-knowing, self-reflecting and all-reflecting, self-determining and all-determining, Conscious Subject. He characterises this aspect of the Divine Personality by such attributes, as *Sadbhāva* (the Spirit's clear knowledge of Himself as the sole Reality), *Vicārā* (His reflection upon Himself as the Source and Centre of all possible phenomenal realities), *Kartritwa* (His consciousness of Himself as the Source of all possible actions), *Jñātritwa* (His consciousness of Himself as the knower of objects), and *Swatantratwa* (His consciousness of Himself as perfectly free or governed by his own Laws).

By *Prakāśa* Gorakhnath emphasises that in spite of the appearance of the various forms of upheavals in the self-conscious nature of the Divine Personality on account of the urge of His dynamic character (*Śakti*), He is inwardly untouched and unmoved by them, and His transcendent consciousness always dwells in the supra-phenomental plane amidst all kinds of phenomenal self-manifestations. *Prakāśa* is explained as characterised by *Nirvikāratva* (freedom from all kinds of changes), *Nishkalatwa* (freedom from any sense of partition within Himself), *Nirvikalpatwa* (freedom from any sense of doubt or uncertainly in knowledge), *Samatā* (perfect harmony, calmness and unity in His consciousness) and *Viśrānt* (perfect harmony, calmness and unity in His consciousness), and *Viśānti* (perfect rest). Thus while on the one hand the dynamic aspect of the Divine Personality

is developing and becoming more and more conspicuous, the transcendent aspect of His Consciousness is on the other hand wholly undisturbed and unshadowed.

Lastly Gorakhnath mentions the unfoldment of *So-hambhāva* (He-I-am-ness) in the self-consciousness of the *Anādi-Pinda*. He explains it as consisting in the following attributes:—*Ahamtā, Akhand-aiśwarya, Swātmatā, Viśwānubhava-sāmarthya* and *Sarvajñatwa*. *Ahamtā* means all-comprehending Egohood. The whole cosmic order is *ideally* manifested in His consciousness and becomes objectively an integral part of His Self. His Ego is expanded as it were into all and the inherent richness of His nature becomes objectified within His self-consciousness. Hence he feels witthin Himself *akhanda aiśwarya, i.e.* undivided and unlimited power and prosperity. The whole universe which is manifested to His consciousness being His self-expression, He feels absolute sovereignty (*Iśwaratwa*) over it. Then *Swātmatā* implies that he feels all-His *aiśwarya* as non-different from Himself. His consciousness of the universe never overshadows the consciousness that He is Himself the universe. His Self-consciousness (*Swātmānubhava*) appears to be evolved into *Viśwānubhava, i.e.*, the consciousness of the entire spatio-temporal order, without an disturbance to its essential unity of undivided self-luminous character. Thus space and time, plurality and change, diversity and relativity, which are inalienably associated with His phenomenal self-manifestation, arise with His self-consciousness. His Self pervades them and also transcends them and thus plays as one and manifold, changeless and changing, transcendent and phenomenal, at the same time without any disharmony. In His Own Self-Knowledge, he becomes All-knowing, Omniscient, *Sarvajña*. He knows all within Himself and Himself in all. In this way the *Mahāyogi* traces the self-unfoldment of the Supreme Spirit (with His *Śakti* immanent in Him) into a Universal Soul with an ideal Cosmic Body, which he gives the glorious name of Ādya-Piṇḍa (S.S.P.I. 25-30).

Thus it is conceived that on account of the internal urge of the Divine *Śakti* for phenomenal self-expression and self-enjoyment there is some sort of awakening and activation and development (which is often described as *Tapas* in the Vedas, *e.g., ritam ca satyam cābhiddhāt tapasah adhyajāyata*) in the transcendent nature of the Absolute Spirit (Brahma or Śiva or by whatever name the Transcendent Spirit may be designated), and He reveals Himself as a magnificently glorified self-conscious self-active omnipotent omniscient and playful Divine Personality embodied with an ideal universe. This ideal universe is the phenomenal manifestation of the eternal and infinite glories involved and unified in the transcendent nature of the Spirit. His awakened self-consciousness means the consciousness of Himself as possessed of all the glories and the cosmic body.

This conception of *Ādya-Pinda* of the *Siddha-Yogi* school appears to correspond to the conception of *Hiranya-Garbha* of the Veda. It is proclaimed in the *Rig-Veda*,—"*Hiranyagarbha samavartata agre, bhutasya jātah Patir eka āsit.*" It means that the Divine Personality with the entire cosmic order in an ideal from in His womb manifested Himself first of all and He become by nature the sole Lord of all existences (which would gradually evolve out of His being in the spatio-temporal system). It is also said,—"*Sa vai śarīri prathamah, Sa vai Purusha uccyate.*" This means that He is the First Embodied Being, and He is called the Person (*i.e.* the Divine Personality). He is spoken of as *Saguna Brahma* and often as *Kārya Brahma* in the Vedanta philosophy.

Most of the schools of thought, which conceive the Ultimate Reality as one differenceless changeless attributeless impersonal Transcendent Spirit, appear to find themselves under the rational and spiritual necessity to conceive of a perfectly self conscious, perfectly self-illumined, gloriously and excellently qualified, omniscient and omnipotent Divine Personality, as the most appropriate and effective link and meeting-ground between the transcendent and the phenomenal planes of existence and thought, between the Absolute Spirit above time and space and relativity and His diversified and changing phenomenal self-manifestation in the domain of time and space and relativity. Between the One the many, the Infinite and the finite, the Changeless and the changing, the eternal and the temporal, there must be a self-conscious Personality, Who is one and at the same time unifies many within His own existence, Who is conscious of Himself as infinite and Changeless and is also conscious of the possibility of infinite varieties of finite and changing existences within and as part and parcel of His all-pervading and all-comprehending existence, Who experiences Himself as manifested in all orders and forms of phenomenal existences and at the same time continuously experiences Himself as the Soul and Lord of them all and also as one absolutely disinterested transcendent Witness-Consciousness.

The Divine Personality dwells inwardly in the transcendent plane and outwardly in the phenomenal plane and there is a wonderful harmony of the two planes in His self-conscious nature. The Yogis conceive this Divine Person as eternal *Mahā Yogiśwara* and as the perfect embodiment of the Yogic Ideal which they all seek for realising. He is to them *Ādi-Nātha, Ādi-Nātha, Ādi-Guru, Ādi-Siddha.* The phenomenal and the transcendent planes of experience are eternally harmonised in the spiritual self-realisation of this perfectly enlightened *Mahā-Yogi.* He experiences himself in all existences of the universe, experiences the universe within himself, and also transcends the universe as Pure Consciousness. He enjoys absolutely blissful changeless existence within and also enjoys the manifold self-expressions of the Spirit in the cosmic order. This is *Ādya-Pinda* or *Cosmic Purusha* of the *Siddha-yogi Sampradaya.*

The process of creation of the cosmic system is, according to the Siddha-Yogi school, the progressive descent of the Transcendent Divine Consciousness into more and more manifested and differentiated self-expressions of His Dynamic Nature. This may on the one hand be viewed as the gradual self-veiling, self-limiting, self-conditioning, self-finitising and self-despiritualising of the eternal, infinite, absolute, impersonal, self-luminous transcendent character of the supreme Spirit; and on the other hand it may be viewed as the progressive self-expanding, self-diversifying, self-magnifying, self-glorifying and self-delighting of the Spirit through the phenomenal self-unfolding of the Unique Power eternally innate in and identified with His Transcendent nature. It may be imagined as One Infinite Light projecting out of itself shades of various characters, which, while offering resistance to it, add to its brilliance and exhibit it in various colours; or as One Infinite Ocean creating big and small waves upon its bosom, which while disturbing its calmness and tranquillity greatly magnify its grandeur and magnificence. Infinite and

Undifferentiated self-perfect knowledge without any process and subject-object distinction in it divides itself into numberless subjects in different planes of experience and thought and numberless objects of various forms and characters appearing to them in various relations, and thereby manifests and enjoys in all possible details in the phenomenal order the Absolute Truth that shines undivided in its transcendent state. Infinite Impersonal bliss multiplies itself into diverse kinds of enjoyers and enjoyables and realises itself through numerous orders of finite enjoyments in different planes of experience in the beginningless and endless time and space. Thus the Transcendent seems to take delight as it were in manifesting Himself as the Phenomenal. This is the root of creation,—the cosmic self-expression of the Spirit.

The Divine Existence, the Divine Knowledge, the Divine Power, the Divine Bliss, the Divine Beauty, the Divine Magnificence, the Divine Love and Magnanimity,—all these are perfectly unified in the transcendent impersonal Divine Nature, and they are phenomenally manifested in diverse forms and under different conditions and limitations in the cosmic system. The Divine Spirit, as the Ground, Support, Soul, Lord, Witness and Illuminer of them all, assumes in relation to them various kinds of glorifying epithets and enjoys Himself in them. The Spirit, who is transcendentally one differenceless attributeless self-luminous being, is in His phenomenal self-manifestation the Omnipotent Omniscient Magnificient Perfect Personal God. The *Śakti* unfolded becomes His manifested Body, and the more is the Power diversified, the more magnificent does the Divine Body appear to be. As the one all-illumining Soul of the cosmic body, Śiva pervades the entire universe and enjoys Himself in it.

21
Cult of Pāśupatism

The history of Pāśupata religion goes back to remote past as indicated by early literary evidences. The religious practices similar to those of the Pāśupatas were prevalent among the mendicants even before Pāśupatas were prevalent among the mendicants even before Pāśupatism flourished as a distinct religious cult. Long before the Buddha and Lord Mahāvira (*i.e.* the 6th C.B.C) there were certain groups of wandering ascetics, known at Ājivikas; some of them lived naked or covered their bodies with dust and practised severe austerities and penances in solitary places by squatting on their heels facing the sun and with their hands above the head. Among the practising ascetics were the followers of Makkhali or Maskari Gosāla whose difficult ascetic practices remind us of those of the Pāśupatas. Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi* (5th-4th C.B.C) and its commentary by Patañjali (*circa* 2nd C.B.C.) also refer to the existence of Śiva-bhāgavatas or the worshippers of Śiva in the pre-Christian era, who used to cover their bodies with animal skin and carried iron lances and staves in their hands. Here, the staves seem to represent the Pāśupata emblem of club. But the earliest races of the religious practices and the dogmas of the Pāśupatas are found in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, This fact is confirmed later on it the *Kūrma Purāṇa* which mentions that the sage *Śvetāśvatara*, who taught this Upaniṣad, had initiated one king Suśila in the Pāśupata Order. The *Saura Purāṇa* also refers to the same content.

It mentions that the king Suśila met the great sage (Mahāmuni) named Śvetāśvatara whose body was besmeared with ashes and who was meditating on Maheśvara Śiva on the bank of the river Mandākinī (the Ganges). The king Suśila was much impressed by the save Śvetāśvatara who was a great compassionate one, and the king felt that his life's ambition had been fulfilled after meeting the sage. He requested the sage to initiate him as his disciple. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* and *Saura Purāṇa* mention the sage Śvetāśvatara as Mahā-muni, MahāPāśupata, Muni-sreṣṭha, Muniśvara, Yogīsvara, Vicakṣaṇa and Viprendra. The sage is seen wearing and old *kaupin* and a sacred white thread and besmearing his body with ashes. He resides in as *āśrama* in Dharmavana of the Himalaya on the bank of the Ganges with a band of *siddhas, yogis* and *munis* who are seen meditating upon Śiva and chanting the *mantras—agnirityādi*...He further prescribes the vow of the school established by him, called Antyāśrama, which is known as *atyāupata-sutra.*

Taking into account the aforesaid contents of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* and the *Saura Purāṇa* and those of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniśad*, we find common theme and expression, such as the epithets Mahāmuni, etc. seem to correspond to Vidvān in the *Upaniṣad; ṛṣi-saṅgha* in the *Upaniṣad* seems to refer to the *āśrama* in the Dharmavana where *siddhas, yogīs* and *munis* are in assembly; *atyāśrama* in the *Upaniṣad* seem to be the same as *antyāśrama; brahman* in the *Upaniṣad* as a *mantra* possibly refers to the *mantra-agnirityādi.*

Again the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, like the *Vayū, Liṅga* and *Śiva Purāṇas*, gives a list of twenty-eight *avatāras* of Śiva and among them Sveta is the first (Śveta appears to be the abbreviated name of the sage Śvetāśvatara). If we rely on the above Purāṇic information, the sage Śvetāśvatara, who is also accepted as the author of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, may be regarded as the first who could be linked with the Pāśupata lineage.

Morevoer, the ideas dealt with the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* may be interpreted in the light of the basic tenents of Pāśupatism, which have been later on systematically discussed in the chapter on the *Pāśupata-sūtra*.

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* maintains that *para-brahman* Rudra-Śiva is the creator, prime mover and dispenser of the universe, and at the same time he pervades the entire universe. He is omniscient and omnipotent; he is the cause and the very foundation of all phenomena. Hence, he is to be known and realised, because by knowing him one can know all. By meditating up the *para-brahman* Rudra-Śiva, the *sādhaka* is required to chant the *mantra 'om'* which is essentially prescribed for the Pāśupatas in the Pāśupata-sūtra also.

Again, in this *Upaniṣad* the Sāṅkhyan technique of comprehending the ultimate reality in dual form, *i.e. prakṛti* and *puruṣa* has been followed. Here *prakṛti* is the power of *puruṣa*, i.e. *para-brahman* rudra-Śiva, who is the creator, prime mover and dispenser of the universe. *Prakṛti*, the power of *puruṣa*, is infinite and *puruṣa* through this power creates, sustains and destroys the universe. When *puruṣa* makes *prakṛti* active, *puruṣa* keeps himself aloof but supervises the universe at the same time. *Prakṛti* is the primordial matter, and out of this Rudra-Siva *(i.e. puruṣa)* creates the sentient beings and non-sentient objects, which complete the whole of the universe. The sentient beings due to ignorance are in embodied conditions. But the grace of *para-brahman* Rudra-Śiva is conditions when meditate upon the Immanent Rudra-Śiva. The reference to meditation on the Immanent Rudra-Śiva implies the rudiments of meditational practice of the Yoga system. Some instructions regarding the posture of the body at the time of practising *yoga* are also noticed here. The *sādhaka* is also required to control his senses with the help of mind and control of breath. One is directed to practise meditation in some clean solitary place, in any quiet temple or at a place of *tīrtha*. It has been stated that one who practises *yoga* becomes immortal, sees the universal soul and becomes one with him. It is also mentioned that the *sādhaka* belonging to any *varṇa* should surrender himself to the omnipotent Rudra-Śiva, worship him and sing in his praise.

From the above accounts it appears that the doctine of Pāśupata religion is found in formative stage in the *Śevtāśvatara Upaniṣad* (*circa.* 6th C.B.C.) "Of course it must be admitted that this *Upaniṣad* does not show any sectarian spirit. The most elevated idea of

Rudra-Śiva is established here. The theory or monotheism and that of the impersonal Brahman of the earlier Upaniṣads are blended together in Rudra-Śiva, and Rudra-Śiva receives the heartful worship of the Ṛṣi who realises that he is the only one God without the second."

But some of the later Upaniṣads have the sectarian spirit. Among them the *Atharvasiras Upaniṣad* (*circa.* 5th C.B.C.) written with the spirit of sectarianism is the first. This *Upaniṣad* refers to Pāśupata *vrata* which consists in besmearing the body with ashes. Ashes are eulogised as "the ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ashes." This vow, duly performed, would entitle the worshipper to get released from the bondage (*pāśa*) with which the individual (*pāśu*) is tied and to gain the powers of the Lord Pāśupati. The Lord Pāśupati is the object of meditation. He is the absolute Being. Hence, he is Maheśvara. He is all-pervasive and is present in three Kālas—the past, the present and the future.

In this way the Lord of the Pāśupates is propitiated in the *atharvasiras Upaniṣad.* This treatise in definitely the work of an author belonging to Pāśupata sect. Similarly, *Atharvaśikhā Upaniṣad* which is also a later composition throws some light on Pāśupatism. In this *Upaniṣad* the *dhyāna-mantra, i.e. praṇava,* has only been discussed.

The *Mahā Nārāyan Upaniṣad of the Taittariya Āraṇyaka* (*circa* 4th-3rd C.B.C.) deals with the esoteric aspect of *mukhaliṅga* indicating the *Sadyojatādi mantra* of the Pāśupatas.

Some of the Upaniṣads which are relatively of much later origins also discuss the religious practices of the Pāśupatas, and these Upaniṣads are *Kaivalya Upaniṣad, Pañcabrahma,Upaniṣad, Jābāla Upaniṣad, Bṛhajjābāla Upaniṣad* and *Bhaṣma Jābāla Upaniṣad.*

The *Pañcabrahma Upaniṣad* gives a description of the five *brahmans,* viz. Sadyojata, Aghora, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa and Iśāna. It states that the above five faces of Sadāśiva respectively represent the earth, fire, water, air and ether. This *Upaniṣad* also hints at the Sadyojātādi *mantra,* which should be practised by the Pāśupatas for the attainment of the *parabrahman* Śiva.

In the *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* we find Lord Śiva being described as the prime cause of the entire universe. He is said to be the god of gods and to be both inmanent and transcendent. *Parabrahman* Rudra is known by various names, like Nilakaṇṭha, Mahādeva, Sadāśiva and Śiva. He can be known through devotion, meditation and *yoga.*

The *Bṛhajjābāla Upaniṣad* makes a mention of the importance of ashes and ashbath. The ash is stated to have originated from the five elements, viz. earth, fire, water, air and ether, and are represented by the five forms of Śiva, *i.e.* Sadyojāta, Aghora, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa and Iśāna. *Bhaṣma* has been eulogized both as an *ātman* and *antrātman.* It exists in the immanent *ātman* in the form of *viśva* and other bases of the phenomenal world. it assumes various forms and also stands apart from them all in the character of *turya-turya* and is indentical with changeless *ātman.*

It is further stated that after taking the morning ablutions, a man should purify the ashes with *praṇava* and perform *digbandhan* with the *pañcākṣara-mantra.* Thereafter, he should sprinkle ashes over all parts of the body with the *pañcakṣara-mantra,* beginning with head. This is known as *mahasnāna.* In the *vidhisnāna* one should purify the body with

the *pañca-brahma-mantra.* By uttering Iśāna-mantra one should sprinkle ashes over the head, with the *Tatpurusa-mantra* over the face, with the *Aghora-mantra* over the region of thigh, with the *Vāmadeva-mantra* over the secret parts, with the *Sadyojāta-mantra* over the feet, and with Praṇava over other parts of the body.

In case of inability to sprinkle the entire body with ashes one should make the *tripuṇḍa* marks over the head, the forehead, the neck, the chest, the naval, the wrists, the middle and the root of the arms and over the back, with salutations to Paramātaman, Brahman, Viṣṇu, fire, Śkanda, Prabhanjana, the Vasus and Hari.

Bhaṣma is the supreme potency of the fire of Rudra. Hence, he who smears his body with ashes (*bhaṣma*) becomes all powerful and his faults are burnt. Only from the *bhaṣmadhāraṇa,* a man attains identity (*sāyuja*) with Śiva.

The *Bhaṣma Jābāla Upaniṣad* makes a description of the appearance of Śiva. He is stated to be of the form of the *turya.* The great god Mahādeva has the moon, the Sun and fire as his three eyes. He wears the skin of a tiger and holds a deer in his hand. His body is covered with ashes and on his forhead there are three transverse parallel lines of *tripuṇḍa* mark. He has neither beginning nor end. He is the one absolute Being and the supreme overlord.

Importance of *bhaṣma* and indispensability of taking *bhaṣmasnāna* and wearing of the *tripuṇḍa* mark have also been discussed here as the *Bṛhjjābāla Upaniṣad.* It is further stated that one should worship Śiva-liṅga at the time of three *sandhyās* and meditate upon Lord Siva, by whose grace the *paśus* are released from their bonds (*pāśas*). One should offer prayers to Śiva by uttering 'Oṃ Namaḥ Śivāya' or 'Oṃ Namaḥ Mahādevāya.'

Again, the *Jābāla Upaniṣad* the knowledge of the highest truth has been stated to be acquired by means of intense meditation on Śiva. Śiva, the lord of the *paṣus* is mentioned to be the *jīva* swirling in worldly existence. The Iśa behaving very muck like the jiva is alone known as *paśu.* The prime cause, having itself brought about the effect, itself attains the state of the effect. Thus Śiva is the *jīva* and the reputed *jīva* is Śiva. The Iśa is in reality omniscient an omnipotent overlord, that is immanent in all and yet remains alone apart from all. He alone is the Paramātma, Pāśupati (i.e. the Lord of Pśus). This Pāśupati Śiva can be attained through *vibhuti* marks. The seeker should place *tripuṇḍa* marks over head, forehead, chest and shoulders. By wearing the *tripuṇḍa* marks with ashes after initiation through the grace of guru, the seeker attains the fruit of liberation and *sāyuja* with Śiva and is freed from any rebirth.

From the above it comes to light that the Pāśupata cult did exist in some form in the 6th C.B.C. or even earlier; it is also learnt that the originator of this cult was Śvetāśvatara, the author of Śveāśvatara Upaniṣad.

However, Pāṣupatism seems to have been established as religion by the time of the Mahābhārata. In the Śantiparva it is mentioned that the Pāśupata doctrine was revealed by Śrikaṇṭha, the lord of Umā and the son of Brahmā. But R.G. Bhandarkar doubts the historical existence of Śrikaṇṭha and instead regards Lakuliśa to be the founder the Pāśupata religion. V.S. Pathak, however, accepts Śrikaṇṭha to be the founder of this system and has proved Śrikaṇṭha to be historical figure on the basis of traditions

noted by him. Śrīkaṇṭha is an exponent of Pāśupatism as recorded in the *Śivadṛṣṭi, Bṛhadyāmala, Pingalamata, Śiva Purāṇa,* a commentary on the *Śāradātilaka,* Aghora Śiva's commentary on the *Ratnatraya.* The *Tantrāloka* states that the *Māngalyaśāstra* was composed by Śrīkaṇṭha, where he had discussed the nature of Śakti and Śaktimāna. He had also composed the *Tantra-sāra.* The *Tantrāloka* mentions that the Pāśupata religion was first taught by Śrīkaṇṭha in five channels. The same work also describes both Śrīkaṇṭha and Lakulīśa as the two authorities on Śivaśāsana. As Śrīkaṇṭha has been mentioned to be the first member and Lakulīśa as the second, Śrīkaṇṭha appears to be earlier than Lakulīśa, and the date of Śrīkaṇṭha may tentatively be fixed during the period between the sage Śveta and Lakulīśa. Moreover, the *Tantrāloka* mentions *Lakulīśa* to be the singer of the glories of Śrīkaṇṭha. The tradition of Śrīkaṇṭha being the originator is also recorded in the *Tantrāoka.* He has been described like a god in the Śaiva pantheon and identified with Śadāśiva having five faces, because he revealed the doctrine having five sources. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* also, Śrīkaṇṭha is stated to be one of the eight Vidyeśvaras. The Bilhari inscription mentions that Yuvarājadeva II had dedicated his whole empire to his Śaiva Siddhānta preceptor, who always lived engaged in the worship of Śrīkaṇṭha.

Moreover, there is an iconographic representation of the five faced Sadā-Śiva as found in the Mukhaliṅga at Bhitā near Allahabad. All the five faces, *e.g.* Sadyojāta, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, Vāmadeva and Iśāna, are carved on the Śivaliṅga. It is placed in the Sunga period. On the basis of the above it may be accepted that Śrīkaṇṭha, a historical figure, was the founder Pāśupatism when it had developed as an established classical religion.

Next we come across a chief spokesman of this religion, and he is Lakulīśa. Literary and inscriptional sources refer to the personal history of Lakulīśa. In addition to the allusion in Kauṇḍinya's *bhāṣya* legends of his birth and priesthood appear in the *Vāyu, Liṅga* and *Kūrma Purāṇas, Kārvana Māhātmya* and three early inscriptions, *viz.,* Eklingaji Temple Inscription of 971 A.D., the Paldi Inscription of 1116 A.D. and the Cintra Prasasti Inscription of the 13th C.A.D.

In the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas,* Śiva is stated to have predicted that he would incarnate as Brahmacārin Lakulisa by entering a corpse found in a cremation ground at Kārohana. According to the *Kārvana Māhātmya,* Śiva was born as the son of a brāhmaṇa couple named Visvarāja and Sudarsanā in village Ulkapur. The divine infant performed superhuman feats, but he died only at the age of seven months. His mother put him into the water of a nearby *tirtha* and from there he was taken by tortoises to the Jāleśvara-liṅga, where he was then brought to life. Later on he went to Kārohana, where he took his priestly mission. An inscription of 971 A.D. discovered from the Eklingaji Temple near Udaipur states that in the country of Bhṛgukaccha the sage Bhṛgu was once cursed by Viṣṇu. The sage worshipped Śiva for aid, and Śiva incarnated as an ascetic holding a club at Kāyārohana. The Paldi Inscription of 1116 A.D., found near Udaipur, mentions that when Śiva saw the tree of *dharma* being destroyed by the axes of Kaliyuga, he descented to the earth at Kāyārohana in Bhṛgukaccha. The Cintra Prasasti of Sarangadeva of the

13th century A.D. states that Śiva came to Lata and dwelt at Kārohaṇa as Lakuliśa in order to bestow favour on the Universe and also to favour the offsprings of Ulūka, who for long were deprived of sons in consequence of his father's curse. Much controversy is seen regarding the date of Lakuliśa. R.G. Bhandarkar dated the rise of Pāśupata system and presumbly of Lakulisa as well about a century after the rise of the Pañcarātra system, *i.e.* about the 2nd C.B.C. In 1971, D.R. Bhandarkar published the Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II. This records the installation of two Śiva-liṅgas by the Maheśvara teacher Uditācārya and named after his teacher Bhāgvata Kapila and his teacher's teacher Bhāgvata Upamita. Uditācārya is described as the tenth in descent from Bhāgvata Kusika and the fourth in descent from Bhāgvata Parāsara.

Since the Inscription in dated 380 A.D., D.R. Bhandarkar has assigned Lakulisa to the first half of the 2nd C.A.D. But V.S. Pathak opposes this theory on the following ground and opines that although this later date of D.R. Bhandarkar has been accepted by most scholars, it is not certain. Rājasekhara's *Saḍdarśana Samuccaya of circa* 1350 A.D., mentions seventeen *gurus* from Lakulisa to Rāsikara. The list contains two Kusikas, the second and the tenth ones from Lakulisa. Hence, the identification of Kusika of the Mathura Pillar Inscription is not certain. V.S. Pathak places Rāsikara in the early 4th C.A.D.; hence if Rāsikara was the seventh from Kusika II, Uditācārya of Kusika of the Inscription would be naturally the tenth from Kuiska II. Thus V.S. Pathak places Lakuliśa in the 2nd C.B.C. and this appears to be more logical. J.N. Banerjea's view to regard Lakulisa an an organizer or a systematizer of the Pāśupata system seems to be quite correct and justified, as it is seen that after the advent of Lakulisa is also believed to be the author of the *Pāśupata-sūtra*, which is the only authoritative text dealing with the philosophical doctrines and religious practices of the Pāśupatas. The commentary of the *Pāśupata-sūtra* was written by Kauṇḍinya who is suggested to have lived between the 4th and the 6th C.A.D., *i.e.* during the Gupta age.

22
Cuntarar

Cuntarar, who lived in the first half of the ninth century, was a Brāhman from South Arcot District but married to two women of low caste. His life seems to have been beset with many difficulties, not the least of which was want of money and resources to maintain his two wives. It is said that the praised God for what material assistance he could get out of his religious exercises, and that, therefore, his hymns are not spiritually as profound and as highly significant as those of the other Śaivite mystics. Nevertheless, some of his compositions, as we shall soon see, do contains genuine spiritual experience of *bhakti*. Cuntarar is the last of the *Tēvāram* singers and is also the last of the sixty-three Saivite saints venerated throughout the Tamil country.

God's Love For Man God is explicitly called *pittar*, one who is madly in love with his devotees (1859). He is so good and benevolent that his very nature is described as grace and love. His love is in a special way manifested when out of boundless mercy he aids with his grace the eavering soul immersed in the sea of deeds and leads it safely to deliverance from fetters and to union with him.

From a rather obscure passage (279) of Cuntarar it is sometimes argued that the God of the Śaivite devotees does not care for morality and treats their sins as virtues. The text in question reads as follows: *kurrañ ceyyinuṅ kuṇamenak karutuṅ kolkai kaṇṭu*, even if the bhaktas do wrong, it is treated as (an occasion for) virtue.. F. Kingsbury and G.E. Phillips translate it 'these (bhaktas) may do wrong, but yet thou count's it right.' They interpret it as 'a serious weakness' of the Śaiva religion, since, they say, Śiva has his favourities, who can do no wrong. This interpretation seems a little far-fetched, because the text does not say that Śiva's favourities can do not wrong, but that even though bhaktas do wrong, God does not consider them a reason for withholding his assistance and grace; and that he is good to the wrongdoers as he is to the good. The text does not seem to have the meaning that God considers what is evil as good or that he does not care from the distinction between good and evil?

God fills with his presence the hearts of those who lovingly mediate on him. He is said to enter the devotee's heart and dwell there. In all truth he penetrates into the soul.' Spreading his presence and influence in the devotee's mind, he possesses it as his own and remains as the inner light of his intelligence.

Man's Love For God *Bhakti,* for all other Śaivite saints, is a gift of God, who grants earnest souls the grace to melt in love for him and thereby to dispel the inborn darkness of *āṇavam* and to reach his feet in blissful union. Even the offering of cheap, ordinary leaves to God in worship, provided it is done with love, merits from God the grace to give up attachment to the vanishing pleasures of the world, and so to pave the way for reaching him. The devotees are asked to foster a *bhakti* that is single-minded, undivided, and contemplative, just as in secular love the lover constantly and relentlessly pursues him love-affair.

Single-minded love to God is one of the recurring themes in the hymns of Cuntarar. He says that he will in no way forget God and that he will think of him constantly. Having an unforgetful mind, he worships god with love that cools his body with gladness. Cooling of mind and body does not mean, in the Indian context, cold, insipid, or tepid love, but single-minded love. People living in a hot climate prefer to speak of love and of the joy ensuing from it as coolness of mind and heart, whereas, those in a cold climate speak of love as warm or hot. Constant and steady remembrance of God alone brings release from the evil effects of deeds. Those who live a life of contemplation, ever fixing their attention on God in whatever, they do, see the end of the bondage of *karma.* Single-minded love of God is more strongly stressed as the saint affirms that there is no one who can take the place of God in his heart. 'Whom else besides you can I think of?' because no other person here on earth or in heavy possesses such beauty power, wisdom, right, majesty, mercy, and love as God does. The *bhakta* has no other attachment except to the feet of God upon which he lovingly sets his mind. He proclaims that he does not praise any other God, does not worship any one but Śiva. He has no one worthy but God to whom he may tell his troubles. He has no relation but God to go for help. The true *bhaktas* lovingly praise God at all times, both when they receive boons from him and when they do not, they worship, in prosperity as in trouble.

The saint confesses his many failings in showing this single-minded love to God. He says that, ungrateful to God, he often indulged in deeds (*karma*), knowing well that birth bound up with old age and disease (R. 10); that he has been wasting his words on useless things, not knowing adequately the life that leads to God's feet (R. 10). He regrets having spoken lies (1862) and committed faults (Rs. 49). Openly calling himself a sinner, he is sorry to have left the path of love and loyal service (1332). He has been cur and a devil, long roaming about and growing weary of his sinful life, without a single thought of God (1860). With a deep sense of sin, and with humility, he calls himself a cur (*nāyēn,* 913, 914, 1860), a devil (*pēy,* 1860), a cruel man (*koṭiyēn,* 1862), and a sinner (*pāviyēn,* 1332). Certainly, humility is not wanting in his religious attitude. He considers himself as the lowest of the *bhaktas.*

This sense of sin does not prevent an optimism that results from placing his full trust in the forgiving mercy of God. For God is the easily accessible messenger (*tūtan*), the dear one who shows friendship (*tolamai*), and the Lord who forgives sins. He asks: Does it not become God to forgive sinners? What imperfection is there in forgiving a sin? He

boldly asserts his confidence in God: 'In order to obtain release and to reach God's feet, I say, do not be afraid, my heart !...take refuge in Śiva (1736). 'Even if I fall again, I will not know anything but his holy name.'

The source of Cuntarar's optimism is his faith that the *bhakta* has God for support, protection, and refuge. Total surrender and commitment to God will tide over any sin, any ill effect of bondage. God is the spiritual light which dispels the darkness of *karma* for those who surrender to him. The devotee lovingly takes refuge at Śiva's feet in order to live a divine life. God's feet are the refuge of sinners. Bhaktas are his inseparable and loyal servants, and so God will not keep quite, doing nothing as it were, when they seek him for help in their trials (1350). Cuntarar gladly gives himself up to God, God can do whatever he wants with him; he has the right even to sell him as a slave.

The higher experience of this love of God is expressed by Cuntarar in terms of delicate affection. The Lord is sweet as sugarcane, honey, nectar (R.4); he is the precious ornament, pearl, priceless jewel (546); he is the eye and intelligence of the world (548), Father of all men, spouse of the *bhaktas* (R.15). It is delightful to think of him (851). He is delicious as the taste of sweet fruit, pleasant as the melodious Tamil; he is the pupil of the eye, darling of the *bhaktas* (120). He is inseparable from the bhaktas, even for a moment; 'he is my dear friend, my husband. Cuntarar, considering himself as a woman in love and God as a husband, and finding the separation from this tremendous lover as unbearable, sends parrots and other birds as messengers to tell how he cannot forget God, how day by day he grows lean from the pangs of separation, and how he spends sleepless nights thinking of his love.

The bhaktas make love to you, revel in bliss; they praise and worship you with fragrant flowers and never fail to do all in their power (to show you love); it is not fair to doubt (their sincerely)...(on my part), I will never forget you...Take possession of me. (R. 38)

I am happply at the realization that he (God) is mine and mine when I love him.

Deeper *bhakti,* for Cuntarar, involves reciprocal possession between God and his devotee. God enters the mind of his lover and the God-lover in turn belongs to God and surrenders entirely to him. God is said to penetrate the heart of the bhakta, and to be so united as to become the bhakta himself. Blamelss *bhakti* effects real union with God. God by his own choice holds sway over his lovers and governs all their actions.

That this union is a conscious possession of God and is realized in higher knowledge is quite clear from Cuntarar's repeated assertions. The bhakta opens his spiritual eyes and sees god. Śiva manifests himself to contemplative souls (1949) and shines as bright light, dispelling the bhaktas' darkness. He grants release to those who constantly contemplate him in all they do.

23
The Dakṣiṇatantras

The Tantras that issued from Sadāśiva's Southern (*dakṣiṇa*). Face are the Tantras of the Right Current of scriptures (*dakṣiṇasrotas*), while those that issued from the Northern (*vāma*) Face are those of the Left (*vāmasrotas*). The *Tantras* of the Right are called "*Bhairavatantras*" because Bhairava is their supreme god and is, in most cases, the one who teaches them to the goddess, his consort. The *Siddhāntāgamas* belongings to the Upper Current and the *Bhairavatantras* of the Right became the most important of all the Āgamic groups. As we have already noted, the *Gāruḍa* and *Bhūtatantras* were largely lost at a relatively early date. The *Vāmatantras* must have been valued and studied, as their presence and influence in distant Cambodia testifies. Even so their corpus did not grow as did that of the *Dakṣiṇatantras* which, on the contrary, developed extensively. The *Siddhāntāgamas* largely superseded all the other Āgamas in the South of India. In the North, in Kashmir and Nepal—the only regions about which we have sufficient source material to make relatively detailed assessments—the *Vāmatantras* were mostly ignored (in Nepal) or relegated to a secondary place (in Kashmir).

The *Bhairavatantras* neither dwindled in importance nor acquired the stability of the *Siddhāntāgamas* but kept on growing both in terms of their number and internal categories. We cannot be absolutely sure that similar extensive developments did not take place in the other currents of the Śaivāgama without examining their Tantras or discovering further notices of them in other sources; even so this possibility seems remote. The fact of the matter is that, in the regions in which the Āgamas have been preserved, we are left with two basic categories of Āgamic text. One includes the *Siddhāntāgamas* and their numerous subsidiary Āgamas (*upāgama*) which are preserved largely in South India. The other, preserved in Nepal, includes the *Bhairavatantras* and numerous groups closely affiliated to them, the most important of which are the *Kaulatantras* we shall discuss in Part Two of this study. Let us see now how these developments are reflected in the Āgamic accounts of the Śaiva canon.

Before the ninth century, the division into five currents of scripture gave way to a new basic three-fold division into Left, Right and Siddhānta. This scheme is found in the *Netratantra*, which presents the Mantra of Śiva, the Conqueror of Death (*Mṛtyuñjaya*), as

one by which the gods of each current (*srotas*) can be worshipped and so finds occasion to deal briefly with these divisions. Here the presiding deity of the Left is Tumburu; of the Right, Bhairava; and of the Siddhānta, Sadāśiva. They are presented as aspects of Śiva, the Lord of Ambrosia (*Amṛteśa*), in Chapters 9,10 and 11 respectively. A similar division into three currents is found in the *Brahmayāmala*. Although it is not the first Tantra to make use of this system of classification, it is not as well defined here as it is in the NT, indicating that it probably precedes it. According to the BY, each of these three currents is presided over by one of the three powers (*śaktitraya*) that together pervade the "three worlds." The Right Current is considered pure (*śuddha*), the Left mixed (*miśra*), while the Middle one is said to be affected by every form of impurity. The Middle Current is like rice in its husk, the Left Current is like rice when the husk has been removed, while the Right Current is like rice when it has been washed and made ready for cooking. These three together constitute the Stream of Knowledge (*jñānaugha*).

The Right Current is then expressly identified with Bhairava, while the *Vāmatantras* are said to belong to the Left Current and the *Siddhāntāgamas* to the Middle. The latter are of two types, namely, *Śivāgamas* and *Rudrāgamas*, both of which are said to originate from the Upper Face (*ūrdhvavaktra*) just as they do according to the Siddhānta. The BY identifies a category of scripture belonging to the Right Current which it calls "the division into eigh times eight" (*aṣṭāṣṭakavibhāga*), also known as the "*Eight time Eight Bhairavatantras*" (*bhairavāṣṭāṣṭaka*). Moreover, there is a fourth, the Lower Current (*adhaḥ srotas*) to which belong the Tantras that deal with the worship of *Nāgas* and Narasiṃha as well as those of the Pāñcarātra together with the worship of *Bhūta* Tantras and the Tantras dealing with alchemy (*rasāyana*). In this way the BY eliminates the Eastern and Western currents of scripture to which the *Gāruḍa* and *Bhūta* Tantras belong. They thus lose much of their identity, barely surviving in the lower Current to which are relegated odd classes of scripture that cannot be accommodated elsewhere.

The account of these divisions in the BY tells us a great deal about the development of the Śaivāgama, particularly if we compare it with that of the *Śrikaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* and our original list of Tantras belonging to the four currents. The SKS's system of classification basically agrees with that of the BY, although there important differences also. Thus, the SKS also divides the scriptures into three groups but these are said to be the ten *Śiva*, eighteen *Rudra* and sixty-four *Bhairava* Āgamas. This division into three allows the ŚKS to establish that these groups correspond to three levels of doctrine, namely, dualism (*bheda*), unity-in-diversity (*bhedābheda*) and monism (*abheda*), which are represented as three powers of universal consciousness constituting Trika and worshipped as the three goddesses: Aparā, Parāparā and Parā. In this way the Vāmatantras have been eliminated as a major current of scripture. We notice, however, that some of these Tantras are found amongst the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras*, particularly in a group of eight called *Śikhabheda*.

It appears that the *SKS*'s categories are more compact units than those of the BY, possibly because the SKS postdates the BY. Moreover, the SKS lists the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* in full whereas the BY does no more than barely refer to their existence collectively as a group. Again, according to the BY the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* are just

a part of the *Vidyāpītha*, which is itself only a part of the Right Current of scripture. The SKS removes the Siddhānta from the older division into five currents and relegates the remaining four currents to a secondary level equivalent, broadly speaking, to the BY's Lower Current. In the process, the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* have become an isolated group which assumes a new and particularly important status.

The sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* are also treated as an important group in the JY's system of classification (see appendix C), where it assumes such a markedly independent character that it is not attached to any particular current of scriputre. Thus, although described in detail, it is not fuly integrated into the JY's system of classification, but apears there as an addition or an afterthought. The names of the eight group correspond exactly in the JY and the SKS, and they are enumerated in the same order. However, in the SKS there is a discrepancy between the order of these groups when stated in brief, at the beginning of its detailed exposition of their members, and the order in which they are listed when the Tantras of each group are named individually. As the order of enumeration tallies with that in the JY in the first instance, there can be no doubt that the order in which these groups are presented has been altered when the SKS deals with them in detail. Moreover this fact proves that this is a well-established and standardized system of classification. Finally, a detailed comparison of these lists reveals that more than half of the names of these Tantras correspond. It is quite clear, therefore, that this group came to be considered a fully formed corpus in its own right with its own subdivisions which was independent of the original classification into current of scripture. Even so, it remained closely related to it as a whole and directly connected to the current of the Right in which it originated and developed.

In order to understand a little better how the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* are related to the original thirty-two *Dakṣiṇatantras*, we will now compare some lists of these Tantras. What interests us here particularly are the first eight *Bhairavatantras* of the Right Current. According to the SKS each group of eight is associated with eight Bhairavas. These eight Bhairavas occur again in almost the same order as the names of the Tantras of the first group of eight, namely, the *Bhairavāṣṭaka*. The Tantras belonging to this group are listed below alongwith another group of eight *Bhairavatantras* found in the BY and first eight Tantras of the Right as recorded in the PLSS. See Table 23.1.

Listed below are the names of the eight groups of the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* according to the SKS (see Table 2). In the first column (A1) are listed the names of each group of eight Tantras in the order in which they are enumerated in the SKS prior to their detailed exposition. Their corresponding Bhairavas are listed in the second column (B1). In the third column (A2) these same groups are listed in the order in which they apear when the Tantras of each group are named individually in the SKS. Their corresponding Bhairavas make up the fourth column (B2).

What we want to establish is that the eight Bhairavas who are said to preside over the eight group of Tantras are infact the eight Tantras that belong to the first of these groups, namely, the *Bhairavāṣṭaka*. Once we have done this, we can go on to compare this group with the eight Tantras that head the list of *Dakṣiṇatantras* in the PLSS.

TABLE 23.1
The Bhairavāṣṭaka

	PLSS	*Bhairavàṣṭaka (SKS)*	*Bhairavāṣṭaka (JY)*	*Eight Bhairava Tantras (BY)*
1.	*Svacchandabhairava*	*Svacchanda*	*Svacchanda*	*Svacchanda*
2.	*Caṇḍa*	*Bhairava*	*Caṇḍa*	*Krodha*
3.	*Krodha*	*Caṇḍa*	*Krodha*	*Unmatta*
4.	*Unmatta*	*Krodha*	*Unmatta*	*Ugra*
5.	*Asitāṅga*	*Unmatta*	*Asita*	*Kāpālī*
6.	*Ruru*	*Asitāṅga*	*Ruru*	*Jhaṅkāra*
7.	*Kapālīśa*	*Mahocchuṣma*	*Jhaṅkāra*	*Śekhara*
8.	*Samuccayam*	*Kapālīśa*	*Kapālīśa*	*Vijaya*

First of all, we can assume that the order of these groups is as we have it in column A1. This is a reasonable assumption in so far as this order coincides exactly with the one we find in the JY. Now if we compare these ls its, we find that entries 3) A1+ B+1 and 3) A2+B̄+2 as well as 4) A1+̄B+1 and 4) A2+̄B2 correspond exactly. To 8) A1+B̄1 correspond 7) A2+B+2. It is clear that *Kapālīśa* has been displaced from his position as no.8. Again, the empty space created by the absence of a Bhairava for the *Yāmala* group seems to have moved *Caṇḍa* and *Unmatta* of list B1 down one place. If this is so, the order of the first five *Bhairavatantras* in the *Bhairavāṣṭaka* of the SKS and JY corresponds exactly to those of the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* according to the PLSS. Again 6̣ and 7) B2 are *Ruru* and *Kapālīśa* who follow one another as No. 6 and 7 in the list of the *Dakṣiṇatantras.* The original order given in the ŚKS (column B1) place *Kapālīśa* in the eighth place with *Mahocchuṣma* in the seventh.

TABLE 23.2
The Eight Groups of Bhairavatantras

	A1 Original Order of the Groups Enumerated in the SKS	*B1 Bhairava*	*A2 Order of Detailed Presentation*	*B2 Bhairava*
1.	Bhairava	Svacchanda	Svacchandarūpa	Bahurūpa
2.	Yāmala	Bhairava	Yāmala	——
3.	Mata	Caṇḍa	Mata	Caṇḍa
4.	Maṅgala	Krodha	Maṅgala	Krodha
5.	Cakra	Unmatta	Cakra	Asitāṅga
6.	Śikhā	Asitāṅga	Bhahurūpa	Ruru
7.	Bahurūpa	Mahocchuṣma	Vāgīśa	Kapālīśa
8.	Vāgīśa	Kapālīśa	Śikhā	Unmatta

It seems, however, that the seventh and eighth were originally *Ruru* and *Kapālisa* respectively because their corresponding divisions, *Bahurūpa* and *Vāgīśa*, are the seventh and eighth in list A1. If this is so, then *Mahocculuṣma* is dislodged from its position as no. 7 in column B1 and moved up to the place of No. 6. In this way this Tantra preserves it place next to *Asitāṅga*. The resultant order then is: *Svacchanda, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Asitāṅga, Mahocchuuṣma, Ruru* and *Kapālīśa*. If this order is correct, then all that needs to be done to the list of *Dakṣiṇatantras* is to eliminate *Samuccayam*—which is not the name of a Bhairava—and *Mahocchuṣma* can then be accommodated in the gap left in position 6. It is clear, therefore, that the *Bhairavāṣṭaka* and the first eight Tantras of the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* were originally the same. In other words, what came to be known as the *Bhairavāṣṭaka* was a standard group in the *Bhairavatantras* of the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* which, possibly because it headed the list of these Tantras, came to be considered as the basis of the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras*. The *Kāmikāgama* says: "The Bhairavatantra originated two-fold from the Sourthern Mouth."

Can it be that the two types mentioned here were the first eight *Bhairavatantras* as one group and the remaining *Dakṣiṇatantras* as the other? That the Bhairavāṣṭaka existed as a group in its own right is confirmed by the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* which refers to it as constituting eight of the sixty-four Tantras that it enumerates (see below). The list of eight *Bhairavatantras* in the BY is further proof that this is so. Thus, if we identify *Ugra* with *Caṇḍa* and restore him to his place as No.2 in the list, then the first four correspond exactly, while of the three not found in the *Bhairavāṣṭaka* only one is not found in the list of Tantras belonging to the *Dakṣiṇasrotas*. Finally, it is worth nothing that, apart from these eight, not a single Tantras in the SKS list corresponds to any of the *Dakṣiṇatantras* noted in the PLSS. The reason for this seems to be that the first eight Tantras of the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* have been extracted from it to serve as the basic model for the *aṣṭāṣṭakabheda*, which although originally just a part of the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* assumed an independent status in a different sphere from the original *Dakṣiṇasrotas*. This appears to be clearly the case when we consider that the SKS retains the older classification as subsidiary to its own trika-based exegesis of the Śaivāgamic corpus in which the *Dakṣiṇasrotas* now figures as consisting of twenty-four Tantras and not thirty-two. Is this not because the *Bhairavāṣṭaka* has been removed from it ?

The Bhairavāṣṭaka is not the only group which has acquired an identity of its own. Another important group is that of the *yāmalas*. In the *Kāmikāgama*, the *Yāmalas* (without specifying their number) figure as a separate category which was not even specifically connected with the *Śaivāgama* although the possibility that Śaivas could practice according to them was allowed for. In the BY they form a group of eight alongwith the eight *Bhairavatantras* and other Tantras in the *Vidyāpīṭha* to which the BY itself belongs. The *Yāmalas* are represented as forming a group of their own also in the JY; so too in the NSA which is probably older than the BY. There can be no doubt, however, that there were a good deal more than eight, and judging from the original *Yāmalas* still preserved, many were probably of considerable length. Finaly, *Bahurūpa* and *Mata* are two divisions of eight found both in the SKS and the NSA indicating that they were also considered to be groups in their own right.

Let us consider next the sixty-four Tantras as a whole. A comparison of the lists of sixty-four Tantras found in the NSA and the SKS proves to be highly instructive from many points of view, both because of their similarities as well as differences. Firstly, it is a striking fact that there are hardly two titles common to both lists. This could perhaps be justified by saying that the SKS lists the sixty-four *Bhairavatantras* while the NSA lists what it calls the sixty-four *Mātṛtantras*. In this case, however, the expression "*mātṛtantra*" should not be understood in a technical sense, because the Tantras listed are far from forming a uniform group. Despite the wide divergence between the these two lists of Tantras, there are also striking similarities between them. Thus, four groups of eight—as groups—coincide, although the members of these groups, as far as we can tell, are not the same. Indeed it seems that the layout in the NSA is a crude form of that found in the ŚKS. It is as if a neat scheme of eight by eight is what it is tending towards, having got barely half way with its three *aṣṭakasnamed* such and the *Mata* Taṇtras which, although they do in fact constitute another group of eight, are listed individually.

Moreover, it seems that the SKS's list is more constrived, less natural than that of the NSA which does seem, on the contrary, to be just a list of important Tantras prevalent at the time and place of its compilation, although the number sixty-four is certainly a symbolic figure. Thus in the SKS, titles are apparently added in places merely to fill out the eight by eight scheme; for example, the whole of the *Cakrabheda* does not appear to be a genuine record of *Cakratantras*. The names recorded are: 1) *Mantra*, 2) *Varṇa* 3) *Śakti*, 4) *Kalā*, 5) *Bindu*, 6) *Nāda*, 7) *Guhya* and 8) *Khacakra*. One could very reasonably argue that we have here not a group of Tantras, but a mystical ascent of consciousness in ordered stages (*krama*) expressed in the typical symbolic language of these texts.

It seems, therefore, that the NSA list is the older of the two, which is certainly possible, as the NSA is older than the BY. That the system of classification in the BY is cruder than that of the SKS also suggests that the BY precedes it. Moreover, one could argue that the scheme of eight by eight Tantras rather than just sixty-four had not yet been formulated at the time of the redaction of the NSA but because the cult of Śrividyā continued to be sustained by a living scriptual tradition, the NSA furnished the model for the subsequent enumeration of the Tantras into sixty-four rather than eight by eight.

If the NSA is indeed as old as the evidence seems to suggest, then we must assign a relatively early date to the *Paścimāmnāya* insofar as the *Kubjikāmata* figures in the NSA's list of Tantras. This means that the *paścimāmnāya* existed at the time of the redaction of the NSA, which is in all probability the first Tantra dealing with Śrividya and the sixteen Nityas. This is not at all impossible because the Kaula scriptural tradition is certainly quite old—the *Siddhāntāgamas* are well aware of it (see below) as are the Tantras of other groups. The NSA itself lists three Tantras which can be said to be *Kulatantras*, namely, the *Kulasāra*, *Kuloḍḍi1sa* and *Kulacūḍāmaṇi*. It is difficult to assign dates to these texts. However, if we accept that they do succeed each other chronologically in this way, it is not improbable that the *Paścimāmnāyā* originated at least two centuries before Abhinavagupta, that is, in the eight or ninth century and is probably older.

Before we proceed to the next section of our exposition, a few remarks remain to be made about some other Tantras listed by the PLSS as belonging to the *Dakṣiṇasrotas*. There are three Tantras we notice here in this list that we know to be *Trikatantras*, namely, The *triśiram* (called "*Triśirobhairava*" *or* "*triśiromatta*" in Kashmir), the *Niśisaṃcāra* and the *Siddhayogeśvaram* (or *Siddayogeśvarīmata*). Their presence in this list establishes that these Tantras are old members of the Śaivāgama. If we accept that these are amongst the *Dakṣiṇatantras* which existed at the time of the compilation of the *Siddhāntāgamas*, there are good grounds to argue that they are older than some of them, at least. Thus, it transpires that Tantras teaching Trika doctrine and ritual already existed at the time of the formation of the Siddhānta as a coherent group of Śaivāgamas. Moreover, it may also be aruged, in broader terms; that the Siddhānta's notion of itself as a group presupposes the existence of an older classification into four divisions to which it has added itself as an upper fifth. This is a standard pattern of development of the canon as we shall have occasion to observe again when we come to deal with *āmnāya* division of the Kulatantras and the place of the *Paścimāmnāya* in it.

24
The Dance of Śiva : Philosophical Interpretation

This thesis is an appraisal of art (in relation of the Dance of Śiva) and Śaiva Siddhanta philosophy. The analysis is worked out from certain assumptions relative to two fundamental concepts in art, *viz.*, beauty and aesthetic pleasure. Based on these assumptions, the art of the image of the Lord of Dance is hereby presented with the view to bring out its significance in form and feeling.

Today, man seeks not merely what he is in need of for his physical well-being, but he also understands the meaning of life and the world with which he is invariably involved. In his search to know the physical world of objects and events, he has stumbled on the threshold of his consciousness and has begun to think on the free-play of his emotions and actions. He has begun to theorise and contemplate and give meaning to his experience. Thus we might say was born the aesthetic sensibility in man giving way to aesthetic expressions manifested in works of art. Art has become significant and considered an attempt to create and know pleasing forms to satisfy Man's sense of beauty. Art has become a source of aesthetic joy–a kind of "felt harmony" of relations among sense perceptions. Feeling, forms life, motion and emotion have become the impact of art. Art is to be recognised and realised as a symbol and a function rather than analysed as a logically comprehensive relation of lines and curves.

Hence let us understand aesthetics as an aspect of human experience which is blissful in nature. The joy that accrues from aesthetic experience has to be distinguished from other kinds of joy in view of its impersonal nature; it can best be described as of the nature of a felt perfection or harmony in perceptions of certain kind not limited to mere sense experience. As it is an experience inextricably linked with the concept of the beautiful, it is made manifest in art and is made realisable through a particular aspect of the self or soul viz: the bliss aspect. From this point of view it can be said that aesthetic experience is an internal process of man kindled by beauty.

From a metaphysical standpoint aesthetic experience can elevate man to the "highest heights of a being." The importance of experiencing this inherent sensibility in executing deity forms in copper or bronze is mentioned in the *Agni Purana*: "O God", prays the Indian architect, "teach me in dreams, how to execute the work which I have in mind."

Beauty in art is essentially an internal perception. It brings the individual into close kinship with his soul and establishes a kind of sanctity and spirituality to beauty. Beauty "moves into the sanctuary of the emotion and seeks to attain union with the 'Beloved'. It is for this reason, we say that religious experiences are characterised by a combination of humility and exhaltation, or a yearning for the union with the divine object of worship. Beauty thus becomes a recognition and realisation of the immanence and transcendence of God. It reveals the identity of the soul with the divine. Works of art involving religious significance of form and name, no doubt, seek to penetrate and identify firstly with truth and secondly to reveal its reality in an attitude of wonder, joy or love towards the attainment of a state of bliss. This kind of experience is found to be independent, complete and autonomous. Plato for instance had remarked that artistic truth or beauty is a "shining, gleaming, blasing and appearing of what is." He names this "alethea" because it is capable of lighting up what is; "It reveals the essential and makes man essential." Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan describes the attainment of such joy as "an epic journey the soul has to make from the darkness of ignorance and sorrow to the light of wisdom and bliss" (vide *Philosophy of Beauty*).

In the light of the above assumptions, this thesis will be presented for the purpose of understanding and appreciating the nature of beauty and bliss manifested in the world's most significant work of religious art *viz.*, "The Dance of Śiva"—as an exposition of the essence of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy.

The essence of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy is the worship of *Śiva* as the Supreme One. If we analyse the concept of the term "Siva" its derivation varies according to the researches of various scholars. Some hold the view that the term is equivalent to the term "Sun"; this theory is based on the fact that the Sun's colour is red, and "*Śiva* as the "luminous one" can be associated with the colour of the sun, viz., red which in Tamil is *sivappu*. However, more meaningful derivations are available in the Vedic and Tamil literary and religious sources. Dr. V. Paranjoti has enumerated the various claims for the origin of this term. Undoubtedly, the worship of *Śiva* being central to the Tamils, the evidences in the Tamil religious texts are sufficient to accept the fact that *Śiva* worship has been the content of the Hindu Tamils. The *Silappadiaram* refers to the dance of *Śiva* in several places. The *Nadukarkadai* for instance mentions:- "Then a *Sakkayan*, a dancing expert from Paraiyur which was famous for *Brahmins* versed in the four Vedas, exhibited for the king's pleasure, the dance known as *kotticedam*, danced with Uma as part of Himself by the Mighty Śiva..." In the *kadaladukadai* stanzas 44-51 refer to the "*Pandaranga*" dance which *Śiva*, in the form of *Bharati* (*Sarasvati*) displayed before the four faced *Brahma*."

Śiva as the Cosmic Dancer or *Nrttyamurti*, has been central to the religious lives of the Tamils right from the Sangam age. As the Supreme God of worship he has been also described as an embodiment of Supreme Beauty and Bliss. Theorists who claim for *Śiva* His Infinitude, uphold the view the "ages prior to the emergence of the Himalayas, the Mahendra Mount in the Kumari and now under the ocean was the seat of the Tamil

sages, and it was there the Scriptures (marai) were divinely bestowed on four of them—the "*Nanmarai*" *viz., Taittirium, Powdhiham Talavakaram, and Saman.* Each of them having for its content the four goal's of values of human life, *viz.*, virtue (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), pleasure (*kama*) and bliss (*moksha*), extols *Śiva* as the Supreme. The *Nanmarai* origin which elucidates the above virtues establishes a foremost position for *Śiva*—as the Supreme One. The peaks of the Himalayan range being His abode, confirms His Supreme status among gods.

The names of *Śiva* are innumerable. As the Cosmic Dancer he is known as "*Nataraja*", In his role as a mendicant he is *Bhikshatana;* as musician, *Vinadhara;* as a Yogi, he is *Yogiswara;* as an Archer, he is known as *Tiupurantaka;* as a Wrestler, *Gajantaka.* Dr. C. Sivaramamurthy refers to *Adavallan* as found in the Chola inscription in his masterly exposition *Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature.* In fact he cites the name of a district called *Nityavinoda*—"the eternal pleasure of the dance of Śiva." Probably this establishes the fact that *Śiva* as the Cosmic Dancer is also the Eternal Dancer.

The aestheticism implicit in the Dance of Śiva, brings out two salient facts, which are symbolic of two main *rasas* or states of enjoyment having their source in the Dance itself. They are Rudra rasa and *Sṛngāra rasa,* corresponding to the *tāṇdava* (the masculine aspect of the dance) and the *lasya* (the feminine aspect). Dr. Śivaramamurthy also includes names such as *Dakshinamurthy, Gaṅgadhara, Kalikatandava* and *Jayanartana* as found in Tamil literature.

For the purpose of relating the Dance and Dancer to the teachings of Saiva Siddhānta philosophy, it is not irrelevent to refer to the seven Dances of *Śiva*. Mailai S. Venkataswami has given us an exposition of *Śiva's* dances in his book, *The Seven Dances of Śiva*. The Seven Dances in fact can be recognised as the varied facts of a single theme viz. the Beauty and Bliss of the Absolute. Herein lies the aesthetic fact of the Dance. The Seven Dances are:

(i) *Sandhya Tāṇdavam*— dances in Silver Hall in Madurai.
(ii) *Gowri Tāṇdavam*— in Chitsabai in Thiruputtur.
(iii) *Tirupura Tāṇdavam*— in Chitrasabbai in Thirukuttalam.
(iv) *Kali Tāṇdavam*— in Ratnasabhai in Thiruvalangadu.
(v) *Muni Tāṇdavam*— in Tambrasabhai in Thirunelveli.
(vi) *Samhara Tāṇdavam*— in Irundanalliravu.
(vii) *Ananda Tāṇdavam*— in the Golden Hall in Thillai.

It is significant to note that the above classification of *Śiva's* Dance, as mentioned in the Puranic literature are found within the geographical and cultural limits of Tamil Nadu. Of the Seven Dances, the seventh one, the *Ananda Tandavam* is representative and symbolic of the themes inherent in all other Dances. The seventh is a composite ideal of the main tenets of Śaiva Siddhanta philosophy. The Dance itself is a Source of Supreme Aesthetic enjoyment of the Beauty and Bliss of God. In *Chidambara Mummanikovai,* the author prays in supplication of the Almighty *Śiva* thus:

"O, my Lord ! They hand holding a Sacred drum has made and ordered the heavens and earth and other worlds and innumerable souls. They lifted hand protects the multifarious animate and inanimate extended universe. They sacred foot, planted on the ground, gives an abode to the tired souls, struggling in the toils of Karma. It is they lifted foot that grants eternal bliss to those They handicraft."

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy highlights the above symbolism in his *Dance* of *Shiva*. The Cosmic Dance he remarks, is an embodiment of Supreme Bliss and Beauty of the Eternal Source—He is the Cosmic Energy in five activities (*pancakrtyas*). The energy vibrant in the Dance, (he quotes Kudavul Mamunivar's *Tiruvatavurar Puranam, Puttarai vatil venra carukkam,* stanza 75 and *sivajnanabhodam)* is comparable to the heat latent in "firewood" and as the Eternal Dancer, the Lord "diffuses His Power in mind and matter and makes them dance in their turn." This reminds us of the Dominant States or *Sthayibhavas* Bharatha describes in his treatise on aesthetics, *Natya Sastra.* Bharat's technique of the rasa-realisation involves appropriate object of art, capable of evoking an enjoyment—which Bharata calls technically *rasa-anubhava.* The aesthetic implication of *rasa* is its power of evoking a kind of enjoyment that can be associated with the beautiful in art. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy remarks that this experience is "tasted" by those who have an inward experience of the Supreme Values. It can even be said to be the outcome of the pure consciousness or soul which is itself describable as "Self-luminous" or *Svaprakasa.* Such an experience is capable of taking man to the peak of perfection which is a state of supreme bliss. This is evidenced in the religious experiences of saints and sages.

The last of the Seven Dances of *Śiva*, popularly known as the *Nadanta* Dance or *Ananda Tandavam* as already mentioned, performed according to puranic tradition in the golden Hall at Thillai, is prescribed to us as a crystallization in art of the five other dances; this is interpreted as the five activities of the Lord, the sixth symbolic of the good and evil involved in the *karmic* law. The author of *The Seven Dances of Śiva,* associates the seven dances with the seven musical notes.

Śiva as Natarajah—the Lord of the Divine Congregation is *Sabhapati.* The *pancakrtyas* represent his five activities, *viz.*,

(i) *Shrishti*—creation
(ii) *Sthithi*—Preservation
(iii) *Samhara*—Destruction
(iv) *Tirobhava*—illusion
(v) *Anugraha*—Grace or release.

Each of these activities separately symbolising respectively *Brahma, Visnu, rudra, Maheswara* and *Sadasiva.* It is also detailed in the *Unmai Vilakkam* that the kettle drum in the back arm on the right symbolises creation; the raised hand is for the sake of protecting the countless souls from the snare of illusion. This hand is gracefully raised accentuating

symmetry of composition and the flow of the rhythm of the movement vibrating through the entire Figure. Of the two hands on his left there is the "fire pot" in the one, and the lower is extended with artistic grace across his breast towards the right, the fingers pointing significantly towards the left foot which is raised to symbolise the purpose of the Cosmic Dance - viz., to shower grace on the souls. The flowing hand is known as *Gajahasta*. The place of the Dance is His Cosmos, the centre of the Universe, Chidambaram and the aura of divinity enveloping him the *Tiruvaci*. The omnipotence and omnipresence of God are presented in the Dance by the feet and hands of the Lord touching the "Cosmos" namely the *Tiruvaci*. Dr. Coomaraswamy, the interpreter of the Dance of *Śiva*, sees in this image of Reality the essence of Śaiva Siddhānta religion and philosophy; and to an aesthete the Dance itself is a vision of the great and beautiful motif in religion and art. It is manifested as an object of Supreme Beauty to evoke the spiritual and aesthetic state immanent in the human emotional set-up; above all it is the clearest manifestation of the activities of God.

As a Siddhāntic philosopher, Dr. Comaraswamy interprets three of the seven dances. The evening Dance as described in the *Shiva Pradosha Sthorhra* he refer to *Śiva's* two-handed aspect as "placing the Mother of the The Worlds upon a golden throne; and is dancing away on the heights of Kailasa in the company of *Saraswati* on the *Vina*, Indra on the flute, *Brahma* with the time marking symbols, along with *Lakshmi, Visnu* and other *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*. The ten-armed *Śiva*, as *Virabhadra* is associated with the cemetery. The dance is symbolic of the *Tamasic guna*. In annihilating the world, out of His concern for the countless souls caught in the cycle of births and deaths, the Lord in his compassion gives a period of rest to the souls. This can be more significantly understood, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, as the Cosmic Will to destroy the fetters that bind each separate soul. The burning ground represents the hearts of the devotee, which is laid waste and dissolute. The destructive power is the force of purification of the soul in its effort to attain nearness or kinship with God. Hence explains Dr. Comaraswamy the Lord Nataraja is known as *Sudalaiyadi* Nataraj. He quotes: *Unmai Vilakkam* (v. 33-35). "The silent sages destroying the three fold bonds are established where their selves are destroyed. There they behold the sacred and are filled with bliss. This is the dance of the assembly where the very form is grace." Dr. Coomaraswamy illustrates the above further with a reference to *Śivajnana Siddiyar*, where it is confirmed that the Eternal Dance is for the purpose of securing for the infinite souls both kinds of fruits; that is *iham*, reward in this world and *param* which is the bliss of *moksha*. Symbolically, it can be further explained in terms of Śaiva Siddhanta philosophy, that the Supreme Intelligence, "Dances" in our souls for the purpose of removing our sins and scattering the darkness of illusion (*maya*) burning the thread of causality (*karma*), stamping down all evil (*mala* or *anava*) and thereby showers grace (*anugraha*) and fills our hearts with eternal bliss (*ananda*).

More arbitrarily, Dr. Coomaraswamy identifies the Dance with the five syllable prayer of the Śaivite—*panchakshara* namely *Si-va-ya-na-ma* (Hail to *Śiva*). The prayer is conceived identical to the Cosmic Sound *AUM*. The arch over the Divine Dancer, is *Omkara;* and the *Akshara*, which is not inseparable from *Omkara* is comprehended as the

"contained splendour." This is the Lord of Thillai. With reference to *Tiruvarulpayan* (IX. 3) the Dance is also interpreted as the Dance of Wisdom. *Tiruvaci* can also be understood according to Dr. Coomaraswamy as representing nature and matter and the Lord Himself, His feet and hand touching the universe—a declaration of his Omniscience. Between matter and spirit is the individual soul as *Ya* has its position in between *Shi-va* and *na-ma*. Thus in the aesthetic perception of the Dance of Śaiva we can proceed to recognize the ideas of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy.

The compositions of the *Samaya kuravar*, are an exposition of their blissful experience of the Formless *Śiva*. They seem to have shrunk physically in their inner vision of the Supreme Beauty of the "Ethereal" God:

"O, bliss of life, I promise, My treasure, I praise" says again St. Manikavacagar.

"Within He dwells and to the melting soul, tears of undying bliss gives He..." Here is the evidence of the ind of supreme aesthetic experience a devote enjoys in a state of oneness with the Divine Absolute. It is an experience prompted by Love which is also the true nature of the soul and Love again is the motif of the Dance. It is true enough to accept that the Dance of *Śiva* is an embodiment of Divine Love and this also symbolises in graphic, concrete and dynamic form the tenets of Śaiva Siddhānta. The philosophy seems to vibrate in the form and motion of the Dancer and the soul in its purified state has the potentiality to realise its own spiritual nature and its kinship with God. This fact is also evidenced in the Śaiva Siddhānta Saints who have sung in exaltation of the Lord of Dance.

It is said that the forms of art are inexhaustible but that all lead by the same world of aesthetic emotion to the same world of aesthetic ecstasy. In the totality of the Dance-Image, one envisages and aesthetic sensibility—manifested in and through the unit, vitality, infinity, repose and beauty of the Cosmic Form. An internal state relative to the soul is its lovability prepelling towards the worship of the image: Śaiva Siddhānta accepts this artistic truth. Descriptive accounts in *Śivaprasam*, *Thiruvarulpayan* and in the *Thevaram*, and evidences of the aestheticism entailed in the worship and experiences of the Divine Dancer.

Śaiva Siddhānta accepts the ideality of God, Soul and matter known as *pati*, *pasu* and *pasam*, the last being the illusion that is projected on matter and veils our senses. Purpose of the human life is to break through both the projecting and veiling power of illusion or *Maya* and recognise the soul's kinship with God. This can be attained through devotion to the Lord. This amplifies the true nature of the soul, *viz.*, its lovability. The same aesthetic fact we have already recognized in the graceful hand of the Dance held in the position of *abhaya hasta* or granting grace or *anugraha*.

That the individual souls have the power to release themselves from the bonds of unrealities like *anava* or *mala* are aptly represented by the Dance. *Unmai Vilakkam* explains: "The Supreme Intelligence dances in the soul...for the purpose of removing our sins...Scatters the darkness of *maya* (*anava* or *avidya*)...burns the thread of karma, showers grace...plunges the soul in the ocean of bliss (*Ananda*)..." (*Vide* verses 32, 37, 39). "In his Feet is *na;* in His navel is *ma;* in His shoulders is *Si;* in His face is *Va;* in His head is *Ya.*

"The Dance therefore is found corresponding to the five syllables—in identity with Dance Form: The meaning of the five letters is relative to the three-fold realities *viz.*, God, soul and matter on the one hand and God, Saktı, soul, tirobhava and mala on the other.

Further, *Śaiva Siddhānta* speaks of three main faculties, *viz.*, knowing, feeling and acting—these are also the potentialities or *sakti* of the soul manifested in the three-fold faculties viz., *jnana, iccha* and *kriya saktis.* God's grace is equally manifested through His powers in the three-fold potentialities of *jnana, iccha* and *kriya*—a composite Dance of *Śiva*, we have already evinced these factors as a harmonization of God's Love in action for individual souls. Dr. Paranjoti rightly comments that the Dance epitomizes the dynamic trends in *Śaiva Siddhānta* philosophy. "In the flow" of the Dance the aesthetic beauty can be visioned through the senses as an "onward march" in the cosmos for the Lord's purpose of releasing the infinite souls.

It is admitted that one cannot conceive of reality or truth without its essential nature, bliss. The sould which is free from impurities is also the place of delight and immortal peace. *Śiva*, whose reality is unconditioned Beauty is also unconditioned Lovability. This is evidenced in *Tiruvacakam* ('Nrthyadarshanam, v. 3) and in "Mutikalappuraithal" v. 9-10).

It is realised here (according to the *Tıruvacakam*) that it is through God (Śiva's Infinite Love for the soul that He desires to free the soul from the fetters of matter. The crystallisation of this thought in the Dance, has already been discussed.

That Śiva's Love is also bound with His Grace is another concrete idea in the philosophy and revealed in the art of the Dance. Here lies the emotive power of the Dance of *Śiva*.

The aesthetic quality of the Dance is further elaborated by St. Thirunavukarasu who in his visit to Chindambaram visioned the Beauty and Bliss of the Lord and in his ecstatic experience sang.

The above utterances undoubtedly are an 'overflow' of the abundant joy the Saint experienced at the divine vision. Similar devotional utterances are also evident in Gnanasambanthar's and Suntharar's songs.

Obviously the Siddhāntin holds the view that God is not aloof from the soul and matter. The Divine Dancer's Form touching the *Tiruvaci,* is a veritable fact. This establishes the Siddāntha philosophical concept of God's omnipresence and power as well as the aesthetic beauty of the Dance—art, displaying symmetry, line, harmony and Grace—the composite factors that go to reveal beauty in art. We can also interpret these factors of art in relation to the Siddhāntin's view that the purpose of God's affinity to Soul and matter is to manifest Divine Love towards benefiting the Soul and to free the Soul from *mala* besides expressing Śiva's pleasing ways of dispelling darkness and ushering in light or terminating bondage and showering bliss. This is visible in the marked perfection and harmony of the Dance.

The *Ananda Tandava* Dance of Śiva is an illustration of the illusion of the World as we see it. At the same time we realise in and through the Dance the eternal truth that Brahman or Reality is immanent in It, as "beginning—less, eternal, sentient and blissful, unending and moonistic." Hence the Lord's names—*Nrtya priya* and *Nrtyasila.*

An apt conclusion to the aestheticism of the Divine Dance of Śiva would be that the Dane of the Bliss of Beauty of Śiva is also the Dance of Supreme Wisdom. The spirituality of the Dance is of the indivisible kind and homogenous; self-luminous and Pure. As Dr. Coomaraswamy has remarked that the "Witnesses" of the Glory and Majesty of the Śiva—Nadanta Dance are filled with a kind of bliss that is capable of directing their souls towards the attainment of the final goal—*moksha*. The "Dancer" Himself has the power to liberate one's ego and lead forward through the path of wisdom towards the perfection of the soul.

25
Darasuram: Airavatisvara Temple

Temples of the bygone age served not only as places of worship but als as repositories of culture. They have enabled the artists to produce masterpieces, some of which have withstood the ravages of time. The four gigantic and massive, temples, marked by towering vimanas perched over the garbagriha-the Brihadisvara temple of Thanjavur, the Brihadisvara temple of Gangaikonda Cholapuram, the Airavatisvara temple of Darasuram and the Kampaharesvara temple of Tribhuvanam vie with one another in grandeur and in revealing sculptures of a very high order even while maintaining their unique and distinctive features. The Chōla period during which all these four temples arose was marked by a resurgence of Tamil culture. The Airavatisvara temple of Darasuram, built in the reign of Rajaraja II when the Chōla tide was ebbing, bears ample testimony to the consummate sill of the Tamil artist. This village lies in the main road connecting Kumbakonam with Thanjavur.

The place was called Rajarajeswaram, after Rajaraja II (1146-73) who is credited with the construction of the Airavatisvara Temple. Ottakothar, one of the luminaries who adorned the court of Kulothunga Chōla, refers to the place in his work Takkayabarani, a war epic based on Daksha's sacrifice. The name was subsequently transformed into Darasuram. Historians opine that it formed a part of Pazhayarai which was one of the capitals of the Chola empire. The temple complex itself was supposed to be a huge one, encompassing seven massive walls and several prakaramas. The temple which was in a dilapidated condition was resuscitated by the stupendous efforts of the Archeological Survey of India.

According to the Sthalapurana, the place was named after Darasura, a demon who with his thousand consorts worshipped the Lord. Yama, afflicted by a mortal disease took a bath in the holy tank and got himself cured of the malady. Airavata, the divine elephant expiated for its sins here and was absolved of them by divine grace. The Lord henceforth came to be called Airavatisvara. Another story states that the temple was built to appease a shepherdess who was a native of the place and who had donated

the huge rock that adorns the sikhara of the Big Temple of Thanjavur. It is an uphill task to disentangle the kernel of truth from the husk of popular myths.

The temple-complex is encompassed by huge compound walls (107.50 metres east-west and 69.40 metres north-south). The temple-proper comprises of the *garbagriha*, the *ardhamantapa*, the *mahamantapa*, and the *agramantapa* (Rajagambhira tirumantap) spanning an area 23 metres by 63 metres. The Rajagambhira mantapa is conceived as a chariot with lively shaped wheels bearing hubs and spokes and drawn by well-caparisoned and straining horses. It was probably inspired by similar specimens that adorn temples like the Vikramasolisvarar temple of Thuachi, the Nataraja Mantap of the Sabhanayagar temple of Chidambaram, the Amritaghatesvarar temple of Melakadambur and the Somanathar temple of Pazhaiyarai. It must have inspired the magnificent Sun Temple of Konarak that arose a century later. An ornately carved flight of steps lead to the Mantapa from the east and west. The exquisitely carved balustraded flight of steps leading to the balipeeta that is located outside the temple complex are named as 'singing steps' as they emit musical notes of varying frequencies when struck.

The solitary prakāra is encompassed by the 'thiruchuttru maligai' which is a colonnaded elevated platform covering the entire length of the compound wall. The images of the 108 hymnists who were enjoined to recite the Thevaram hymns grace a part of the southern compound wall. The small tower that is formed at the eastern entrance was probably adorned by numerous images of the divinities but only the name-labels of such figures are extant now. The northern part of the Rajagambhira mantap contains an improvised cell that houses the divine consort known as Deivanayaki Amman but the exact age of the inception of this image is not clear.

The pillars of the Rajagambhira mantap provide a treat to the eye in the form of miniature sculptures portraying various episodes from the Puranas and the epics. Mention could be made of Kamadahana, Siva's marriage, the life story of Kamakshi Amman, scenes from the Skandapurana, and Vinayaka (different sizes). The three-headed Ardhanarisvara is seen wearing karanda makuta and grasping articles like rosary, dagger, lotus, *pasa*, *dhanda* and *kapala* in his hands which are eight in number. The right half seems to denote the male aspect while the other side stands for the female aspect. Dr. S. Nagaswamy opines that this specimen represents Mahamaya Shakti, the manifestation of the Supreme female Goddess Adhiparashakthi. The image accommodated on the western side of the Rajagambhira mantap has been identified with Goddess Annapoorni by Mr. Bhaskara Tondaiman. Another view identifies her with Mohini, in whose form Lord Mahavishnu duped the Asuras to offer ambrosia to the Devas. Ganga and Yamuna grace the entrance of the shrine of the Amman in the form of dwarapalakis. In a small shrine Sarabhamurthy is depicted as relieving Narasimha of his ferocity; dancing Bairava, Narasimha, Ganesa, Mahesamurthy, Lingodhbhava, Kamantaka, Agni, Brahma, Vayu, Indra, Kaumari, the four armed Nagaraja with the serpent food over his head, sage Agastya, imparting the lessons to his pupils; the awesome Ahorabhadra, with four arms and three faces, the enlightened Dakshinamurthy enunciating the rishis into the mysteries of the Vedas; the triumphant Durga, standing upon severed head of the Asura;

the majestic Tripurantaka, holding the axe and the bow; the sanguinary Gajasamharamurthy, dancing in ecstacy upon the skin of the vanquised elephant; Goddess Annapoorni, holding the Ratna Kalasa in one hand and the lotus-bud in the other; the twelve armed Karthikeya; the catalogue could never end. Some of the sculptures found in isolation here, have been transferred to the Thanjavur Art Gallery. The steps leading to one of the mantapas has the motif of a ferocious lion pouncing on an elephant; another motif gives the appearance of a lion when seen from one angle and that of a bull when seen from another. The bewitching charm and the sublime beauty of the sculptures beggar description.

To the sixty three Saiva saints goes the credit of rejuvenating Śaivism from near oblivion. By doing yeomen service to the people and by performing miracles they endeared themselves in the hearts of the masses. They punctiliously visited the temples and composed songs lauding the deeds of the Almighty. They rode on the crest of the wave that was the make Śaivism, the state religion and out-manoeuvred the Buddhists and the Jains. As a mark of reverence the figures of these savants were incised on the outer walls of the sanctum. They are no mere isolated sculptures; they are biographies of the saints in stone. Some of the memorable events of the life of the saints are depicted here. Beneath the sculptures are descriptive labels, most of which are still in a readable condition. At another place the sculptures of the 108 Śaiva Acharyas are found along with descriptive labels. Sadly most of those labels are in a mutilated condition.

Takkayabarani, composed by poet Ottakoothar, while describing the episode of Daksha's discomfiture seem to allude to the Presiding Deity of this temple. The awesome sculpture of Virabhadra housed in this temple seems to testify to this connection.

Inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the Chola monarchs Rajaraja II, Kulothunga I, Rajadhiraja I, Kulothunga III, and Rajadhiraja II and of the Pandya monarchs Maravarman Sri Vallabha Devar and Maravarman Tribhuvanachkravarthi Vira Pandya Devar have been traced in various parts of the temple. Land was gifted for repairing and gliding the sikhara of the temple. Gift was made for worship and offerings at the temple of 'Irarasuram.' Provision was made for conducting festivals at the temple of 'Irarasuram Udaya Nayanar.' Rajadhiraja I after sacking Kalyani brought the image of a dwarapalaka as a trophy and performed a virabhishekam in 1054 A. D. The outer tower was built by Igai Muvendaraiyar.

Different views have been put forth by scholars regarding the age of the temple. On the basis of the architectural pattern Dr. V.A. Smith has assigned it the same age as that of Gangaikondacholapuram. Some have assigned a Chalukyan influence on the temple. Percy Brown has found Pandyan influence in the temple. A study of the various materials reveal the fact that the temple was a creation of Rajadhiraja II (1146-1173). "The most beautiful monument of this period, a sculptor's dream relived in stone, in the temple at Darasuram, which is uneqalled in its technical perfection and exuberant ornamentation. The wheel—and horse motif—here transform the mantapa into a chariot. This Chola device was appreciated and adopted by other craftmen in the Eastern Chalukya and Kalinga territories most notably sculptor of the famous temple at Konarak" Ċ. S. Sivaramamurthy—*The Art of India*.

The profuse occurrence of dancing *apsaras* to the accompaniment of musical instruments in various parts of the temple reveals the interest, the Chola rulers had in fine arts. The description of the lives of the Śaiva Savants, the portrayals of ponds filled with aquatic animals, the majestic figures of kings with royal paraphernalia accompanied by a huge retinue of Chauri-bearers, sages etc., have a marked similarity to such corresponding scenes in the temples at Borobodur and Prambanam (Indonesia). This similarity could be ascribed to the wide contacts the Tamils had with the Far East. Such is the treasure house bequethed by the Chola artists to posterity to cherish, to admire and to emulate. It is a legacy of which we must be proud of.

26
Dirghatama

The name of Kalinga is popularly connected with the episode about Dirghatama. It goes in the Mahābhārata and in the Bhagavata Purāṇa that he was born blind. It is because, while he was in his mother's womb, his uncle, Bruhaspati cohabited his mother, but he pushed him inside. Bruhaspati cursed him for his eros. He was born blind and was named, *Dirghatama*. He was amorous. He was left in care of his paternal cousin's hermitage. He was indulged in gross immorality. So he was expelled from the hermitage and was set adrift in the Ganga. He was carried in the down stream to the eastern Anava kingdom and there he was rescued by Vali, the king of the kingdom. The king had no son. As desired by Vali, his wife, Sudesna begot five sons by Tamas. Among the sons, one was Kalinga and the land given him to rule over was known as Kalinga. These descriptions about Dirghatamas owed much to the ṚK. III. 128, in which he was born blind and he obtainned his eye-sight by worshipping Agni.

Generally, Kalinga-Raja has been accepted as the seed of Kalinga kingdom. But really it is not. In the Brahmanic order Kalinga kingdom was treated as a forbidden land for the Brahmanas. Kalinga was not of low origin. He came from Brahmana father and Asuri-mother. So, the off spring of *Anuloma* system was, more or less, like the off-spring of endogamy. Moreover, Kalinga was not mean. It is seen that his son, Kakshivat begotten from Usij and Dirghatamas, was a great seer. This episode alongwith the other makes Dirghatamas a polygamous and amorous. In addition to it, his mother's sexual intercourse with Bruhaspati might have put him in low order and for his relation, the land was forbidden for the Brahmanas, not for Kalingaraja. The position of Dirghatamas may also be referred to the kings of Rome, Egypt and Babylone.

1. In the Babylonian myth, Sargon-1, (2600 B.C.) the founder of Akkadian dynasty was born in secret. His mother placing the infant in a basket threw in a river. He was drifted in the current. A peasant saw him and took him to his home. Under the care of the peasant the infant grew up and became a gardener. Having the blessing and love of the goddess, Ishtar he became the king of Babylone.
2. In the Egyptian myth, Moses was drifted in a basket and he was caught up by Pharoah's daughter. Moses married her and became king of Egypt.

3. The Roman myth is that Rhea gave birth two sons, Romulus and Remus. Rhea's father was Numitar, the king of Alba Langa. Rhea was the beloved of Mars. She was separated from him. Her sons were set adrift in a river placed in a basket. They were caught up by a shephered. When they grew up, they came to know that they were the legal heirs of the kingdom. However, Romulus slew Remus and the became the king of Rome.

Among the legends, the similarity is evident, but it is difficult to ascertain the original one. There is similarity among Dirghatamas, Sargon, Moses and Romulus, but no similarity is with Kalingaraja. So, it is not possible to say that the name of the kingdom came after the name of the king, Kalinga. Rather, Dirghatama might have been the founder of the term, Kalinga, whether it might be a person or any dominating idea, of which he was the exponent? Now it may be asked as to what was the idea behind Kalinga? Again, Dirghatamas was saved in Anava kingdom which has been identified with Bhagalpur of Bihar. Here a question may come as to how was he associated with the land of Kalinga ? The episode of Usija-Kakshivat threw light on his coming over the land of Kalinga. It is not wise to think that Kalingaraja and his son, Kakshivat got born by Dirghatamas. We have seen that Dirghatamas was the first-rate philosopher-poet among all the Vedic seers. His invocations to Agni, Visveḍevā (sun and earth) and Dyāvyāpruthivi are unparrallel. It may be true that he had come over the land where his deities, the Sun and the Earth, were meeting now and then. He had got his lost eye-sight by worshipping Agni. Really, it means he got rid of his eros by the help of austerity.

On the basis of the myth, he must have reverence for worldly Agni. Besides, the Sun and the Earth were his end of philosophy. He must have been the Evangelist to preach the cults of the Agni, the Sun and the Earth in the meeting ground of the Sun and the Earth. In his opinion he is real wise who worships Agni and Sūrya equated (Ṛk. 1.164.18). With this idea of worship and with his philosophical view about them he was, possibly, in the land, which, later, known as Kalinga, because the region, from Bhagalpur of Kalinga, was holding all the sea coast from Ganjam to the Ganges delta and was forming a long compact curved wedge with its base on the sea coast and its point above Bhagalpur. His philosophy, which we have seen above, has an impact over the Kalingās. That is the reason for which it is said, "Megasthenes who visited Kalinga in 302 B.C., long before the battle of Kalinga, has written that the Kalingas were a civilised people whose society was divided into classes which followed various occupations, including the study of philosophy and the taming of the wild elephants." His philosophical view on worship of the Sun and the Agni might have resulted in Kalinga at par with the prevailing *Bhakti* cult of the Niṣāḍas of the land (Kalinga has been a name of the kingdom and it may also be taken as Linga, a type by itself, which stands for the Gramadevati. From the points of philosophical views and erotic features, Dirghatamas has coincidence with Śiva. Dirghatamas had close association with Kalinga kingdom. The relation between Dirghatamas and Kalinga kingdom may throw light on the Śaivism of Orissa anterior to the 4th or 5th Century A.D.).

The Sun worship was expressed in form on the body of Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar before Christian era. The Konark temple came into prominence during the thirteenth Century A.D. K. C. Panigrahi on the basis of Ptolemy's Geography says, "Though the existing temple belongs to the thirteenth Century A.D. the shrine of Arkatirth or Konark is, without doubt, very ancient and has been referred to in Ptolemy's geography as Kannagara identified with Konark." All these push the Sun worship of Praci Valley back to the period of pre-Christian era. Alongwith hypothetical association of Dirghatamas with the land, the Kapila Samhita of the 15th Century A.D. mentions that Dirghatamas had seen Pusa, (Sun) at Maitreya Vana which is situated in the sea shore near Candrabhaga river. Here stands a banyan tree known as Arkavṛksha which has been revered as the dwelling place of the Sun. Identifying Candrabhaga with Chinab in Punjab, J. Dowson says "under the curse of Durvāsa, Śāmba became a leper and retired to Punjab, whereby fasting, penance and prayer he obtained the favour of Sūrya (sun) and was cured of his leprosy. He built a temple to the Sun on the banks of the Chandrabhaga (Chinab) and introduced the worship of that luminary." In the Praci Valley there is also a Muktitirtha with the presiding god, Suryesvara.

It is familiar for Śāmba's legend. Moreover, in Orissa '*Śāmbadaśamī* a festival has been observed with great care. It is not known how the importance of Candrabhaga in the Praci Valley was shifted to Chinab. It is seen that even the Vamana Purana in its Sauri Samhita glorifies the Arkakshetra. So also, the Markandeya Purana mentions that Rajya Varddhana ruling over his kingdom for seven thousand years went out to a forest named Guru Visala, frequented by the Siddhās, in Kamarupa and there he worshipped the Sun (Ch. CIX). The form of the Sun was gentle lunar orb (soma) in which he was worshipped and his first form was luminous (Agni). F.E. Pargitor editing the Markandeya Purana remarks elsewhere that Markandeya writing the Purana in the Vindhyan cave had not requisite idea of Kamarupa. To Pargitor Kamarupa is not to the eastern side of the Vindhyan cave. Of course, he is not clear about his remark. We think Markandeya had the intention of glorifying a *Janasthāna* presided over by the Sun and it was Maitreyavana of Praci Valley in the East. Parci Valley had the same glory of Janasthāna as like as Vindhyan cave and Tungabhadra Valley. Moreover, Kalinga was also treated as a part of Vindhyan region. F.E. Pargitor gives a remark from the practical point of view that in the Vindhyan region the Sun and Agni were in high pedestal preceding the period of supremacy of Śiva.

The Sun worship was always popular throughout India excepting a few families of the Vedic seers. Its only reason was that the Sun and the Earth were phallic deities. The Sun was superseded by Śiva though phallism. So was the case in Kalinga. Dirghatamas, Maitreyavana and Pusa, as we have told before, have the implication of the introduction of Śiva Cult through the Sun Cult of which Kalinga was the via media. Maitreyavana was the abode of the Vedic Mitras who have been identified with Mithraists of Persia or Central Asia. They had their phallic god, Pusa. He was made old and weak in Indian phallic worship. In the Daksha's sacrifice Śiva had knocked out his teeth and he became Bhaga instead of becoming Pusa. Dirghatamas invoked Visvedeva, "suyavasad bhagavati

hi bhuyam atho bhagavantah syama" (ṚK. 164.40). It is likely the Sun and the Earth, Śiva and Ambā were introduced in Orissa to be worshipped since those days.

The Agni has been equated with the Sun. It speaks about the interference of Dirghatamas in Kalinga. Now in every non-Brahmin family the worship of Agni in the name of Isanadevata is peculiar and is important. They worship Isana in a corner of the kitchen and offer the food prepared first to the deity. The march of the Agni from Sarasvati to Sadanira has laid down injunction on the Brahmanas entering into Kalinga to undertake 'Vaisvanari isti' ritual. Here the river, Sadanira has been identified with Mahanadi and the ritual, 'Vaisvanari isti' may mean a work pertaining to fire, which may be useful for the society. Vaisvanara is the son of Visvanara, (the sun) and 'isti' may be referred to istaputra of the ṚK. X 14.8. In this hymn the Agni is Tapah. The description of about spread of Agni in Kalinga may suggest that the fiery part of austerity came over Kalinga by the Aryans and it may go in favour of Dirghatamas who might have aryanised Kalinga.

The name Dirghatamas itself may also justify this fiery part of austerity. An episode of the Markandeya Purāṇa may be referred to in this context. It is said, "Bhuti, a disciple of Angirasa keeps the fire burning in his hermitage day and night. He was very irascible and so, he was used to shower bitter curses for small matters. He spoke harshly on the occasion of a transgression. Matarisvana, Prajanya, Sun, Moon—all could not do any harm to his hermitage. He has no child. On one occasion he left his hermitage to attend the sacrifice of his brother. He directed his disciple, Santi that he would watch over the fire, so that it would not be extinguished. But all luck would have it, even after all efforts of Santi, the fire died out. Being afraid of Guru, Santi offered a hymn to the seven fires—Kāli, Karāli, Manojavā, Sulohitā Sadhumra Varnā, Sphulingini and Visvasadā. They became pleased with him and granted a boon. The boon was that Bhuti would get a son. For a son, Bhuti was in austerity for long years with pains but he was failed. It means Agni is not enough to bring the transcendental wealth and he should be accompanied with his energy, Soma or water. Dirghatamas was like Bhuti and it was manifested in Kalingan art, which we will see in the Chapter IV, and in the character of the Kalingas who were said to be quarrelsome for the development of their intrinsic merit (Va. 3.2.48).

27

Epigraphical Evidence of Śiva Cults and Practices

Inscriptions are extremely valuable for not only helping us gauge the religious preferences of a particular era and area, but also for assistance in discerning in some detail, the traits and major features of different cults alongwith their practices. The epigraphic, as a source material is recognised as a fairly authentic and relatively contemporary source of a given historical situation. This is because of the main qualities that distinguish it from the literary source material, that is, it is almost immune to any type of tampering or interpolation due to the very substance on which inscriptions are usually inscribed.

In view of the fact that the issuers of the inscriptions were mainly representatives of wealther section of society, the data therein therefore have to be studied with some amount of caution. Another drawback is the tendency for hyperbole in the descriptive portions of the eulogistic inscriptions called *prasaśtis*. There are sever copperplate grants which differ from the latter in the they are land grants. By the large all inscriptions at some place or the other give us an indication of the religious affinities of the donor and also of the donee and thereby prove to be a valuable source material for the reading of a religion.

Bearing the above-mentioned lacunae as well as the several advantages of the epigraphic sources in mind, an attempt has been made here to study the inscriptions of Madhya Pradesh pertaining to our period that is C. AD 550-1200. Fortunately in this time span several dynasties ruled, some of them contemporaneously and they all issued a sizable amount of inscriptions. Feudalism being at its heyday there are numerous land charters as well. The number of inscriptions from which the following information is gleaned is approximately three hundred and the dynasties whose inscriptions have been studied are the Kalacuris of Tripuri and Dakṣiṇa Kosala, the Candellas, the Paramāras of Malwa, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of Mekala as well as South Kosala, the Śarabhapuriyas, the Chhinda Nāgas of Bastar and the Kacchapaghātas.

It is interesting to note the proliferation of sects or cults in our area in this period. A sect is a religious body or denomination in which distinct religious doctrines and principles are formulated and which has a distinct religious philosophy and common

forms of worship that distinguish one particular sect from another, either of the same religion or another religion. Here we will be discussing the various sects or cults that are associated with the development of Śivaism or have even evolved out of Śivaism in some form or the other.

The Pāśupatas were possibly the earliest and certainly one of the most influential of the brahmanical religious sects dedicated to the god Śiva. This cult seems to have been influential in our period as well. V.S. Pathak opines that the Pāśupata school of Śivaism was founded by Śrikaṇṭha from which several branches sprung forth. The fact that a Śrikaṇṭha has been referred to in the inscriptions lends credence to his argument that even if he was not the founder of this cult he was definitely an important person or deity concerned with this cult. The Sheorinārāyaṇa Stone Inscription of Jajjaladeva of (K) yr 919 (AD 1167-68) pays obeisance to Śrikaṇṭha in opening verse. The Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II of (K) yr 915 (AD 1163-64) mentions the construction of a temple of Śrikaṇṭha at Varelapur. The Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala in the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Bālārjuna, the date of which corresponds to the second half of the eighth century, refers to Śrikaṇṭha. In the Ujjain Plates of Vākpati II of the Paramāras, we hear of Śrikaṇṭha, as it opens with an beisance to Śrikaṇṭha along with Girijā. A similar invocation is found in the Dharampuri and Gaonri Copperplate grants. Śrikaṇṭha therefore, as can clearly be seen, was an important deity on his own and this may have been the case as he was supposed to be founder of the Pāśupata sect.

It has also been seen in the inscriptions of our time that the epithet or name Pāśupati was also fairly frequently applied to Śiva. In the Paramāra Modi Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha-Jayavarman II of *vs.* 1314 (AD 1257) we hear of a person Mallikārjuna who was a Pāśupata and belonged to Avanti. The fragmentary nature of the inscription does not enable us to know the purpose of the mention of this person but it appears to be tempting that he was credited with the building of a temple or more temples and installing deities in them.

There were several Pāśupata *ācāryas* living in the Kalacuri kingdom as well. One of them Rudrārṣi, who was from the Lāṭa lineage, was placed in charge of the temple of Śiva under the name of Vaidyanātha and of the *maṭha* and the hall of learning with gardens attached to them which the Kalacuri dowager queen Alhanadevi had erected at Bheraghat. The income of two villages was also granted to this entire complex.

In a different Gaonri Copperlate grant the epithet Pāśupati is present as is the case with the Paramāra Stone Inscription of Bhojpura. In the Khajuraho Inscription of the Candella Dhaṅga of *vs.* 1059 (AD 1002-03) there are verses in praise of different forms and aspects of Śiva out of which there is a reference to Pāśupati also. Of the different branches of the Pāśupata system the one founded by Lakulīśa was called Lakulīśa Pāśupata. It is supposed to have been the first and earliest school that assumed a definite denominational form. All the rest seems to have improved upon the Lakulīśa Pāśupata doctrines under different names. The four branches or *jātis* that sprung forth form Lakulīśa were the Kuśika.. Gārgya, Kourusa and Ananta lineages.

The Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayakarṇa of Kalacuris of Tripuri refers to the

ascetic Bhāvatejas as belonging to the Ananta *gotra* and a follower of the Pañcarātra *i.e.*, Pāśupata system. His foremost disciple Bhāvabrahman is said to be 'proficient in the knowledge of Pañcārtha' and in this Kali age, there is seen no follower of Pāśupata system like Bhāvabrahman. "The Pañcārthika system is also referred to in the Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva. It is also referred to as that because it treats of five subjects. Of these five subjects we get several references in the inscriptions, sometimes directly and often indirectly. The first subject is *kāraṇa*, that is cause. The cause is *Īśvara* or *Pradhāna* which is referred to in the opening verse of Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayakarṇa. Śiva is invoked therein as "one who is the architect of the mansion of three worlds and the noble poet of the composition of the three Vedas and whose effort, knowledge and will are eternal.

The second important feature of this system is *yoga*, which is absorption in meditatin or the muttering of the syllable 'Om', contemplation and concentration. The religious preceptor Bhāvatejas is said to have practised the *yoga* system of Pāśupati and thus attained union with Śiva by his knowledge. His disciple Bhāvabrahman is said to be "another Sanatkumāra on account of his celibacy and is devoted to the practice of *yoga* as taught in the system of Pātañjali. He is said to have practised *prāṇāyāma, niyama, dhyāna, āsana* for the same." Mental states like *maitrī, karuṇā*, so essential for the practice of *yoga* are said to have been attained by them.

Vidhi, the next feature, is an operation which brings about righteousness. Besmearing the body with ashes and lying down in ashes, forms one of the many essential features of this principle. This feature is referred in the Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayakarṇa which states that the ascetic Bhāvabrahman, clad only in the loin cloth, lies on pure ashes and practised begging. In the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Bālārjua of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala hear of Śambhū with his body covered with ashes. In the Arang Stone Inscription of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala there is a similar description of Śiva in which we read that "Śiva whose body is stained with ashes. The Ananta school of the Pāśupatas also recognised *pūrtta i.e. nivartaka* activities and this is a knowledged in the Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayakarṇa. The *Svacchanda Tantra* recognises two kinds of worshippers—one following the path of performing *pūrtta* and *iṣṭa* activities and other following the *path* of knowledge that is *bodha*. *Pūrtta* is a reference to several charitable activities.

The Tewar Stone Inscription states that the final deliverance of an ascetic is attained by *pūrtta* and *bodha* and that ascetic Bhāvabrahman combined in himself both these ways. The *pūrtta* activities consist of the excavations of wells, tanks and other kinds of water reservoirs, the construction of temples and monasteries and the establishment of alms and rest-houses. The Candella King Madanavarman 'glorified wealth by utilising it in *iṣṭa* and *purtta*.' Kokalladeva, the Cedi king, has been described in the Banaras Copperplate of Karṇadeva as "one whose mind was fixed in doing philanthropic activities and the performance of *iṣṭa* and *pūrtta*." In the Sās Bahū Inscription of the Kacchapaghāta king Mahīpāla we hear "the king reflecting that fortune and life are unsteady like the floods of rivers had set his mind on the performance of *pūrtta dharma*."

Even more interesting is the Tewar Inscription of the time of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva where the principle that the "final liberation of disciplined persons could be achieved by the *pūrtta* which is a *nivartaka dharma* and by the realisation of the ultimate truth" has been mentioned.

A Pāśupata Śrīmūrti is recorded to have had a *maṇḍapa* constructed as is clear from the Kalañjara Inscription of *vs.* 1147 (AD 1090). In the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Kalacuri king Jayasiṃha of (K) yr 926 (AD 1174) the object was to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by Vimalaśiva, the religious preceptor of the King Jayasiṃha of the later Kalacuri dynasty of Tripuri. The Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayakarṇa of Cedi yr 902 (AD 1151), records that Bhāvabrahman who was a disciple of Bhāvatejas constructed a temple of Śiva by means of begging. All this evidence shows that the tremendous building activity that was taking place at this time was sanctioned by the then existing religious tenets.

The fourth important feature of which we find epigraphic references to is *dukkhānta*. The Tewar Stone Inscription mentions that Bhāvatejas obtained the association (*Sāyujya*) with Śiva as a consequence of enlightenment (*bodha*). This *sāyujya* form of salvation in which a devotee is not believed to have merged himself in the godhead but merely obtains association with him is referred to in the Pāśupata-*sūtras*.

The conception of the eight forms of Śiva associated with the cult of Pāśupati is also referred to in the inscriptions as in the Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayakarṇa. They have also been explained in the Bharaghat Stone Inscription of Narasiṃha of (K) yr 907 (AD 1155), the Sheorināārāyaṇa Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva of Cedi yr 919 (AD 1167-68), and the Karanbel Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha. There three inscriptions explain the eight forms of Śiva as consisting of ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificer, water and air respectively. In the Bhojpura Stone Inscription of the Paramāra ruler Bhoja, Śiva has been called Aṣṭamūrti.

The majority of references, however, in the inscriptions belong and pertain to the Śaiva Siddhānta sect and that even to the branch of the Mattamayūra. The word Mattamayūraka is met for the first time in a passage of the *Mahābhārata*, where it is used as a synonym of the warlike tribes of the Yaudheyas. However, this seems to have no connection with the clan name which perhaps signified the name of a locality in Central India. Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan, has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Tehari, Ranod and Malwa, where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwaha, about 25 km south of Ranod, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery, and of no less than fourteen brahmanical temples all belonging to the tenth or the eleventh century AD. It has been said that such a large group of temples is to be found in no other single place in the Gwalior area. The inscriptions discovered within the limits of the Cedi country supply us with rather detailed accounts of the Śaiva *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra lineage. They seemed to have collected a vast amount of importance and goodwill among the royalty.

We hear of Yuvarājadeva I, under the influence of his queen Nohala, inviting several *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan to the Cedi country and building magnificent

temples of Śiva and monasteries for them at Gurgi, Masaun, Chandrehe, Bilhari, Bheraghat and other places. There is, very clearly, as noticed above, a difference of opinion among scholars on the issue of the identification of Mattamayūra, the chief seat of the clan. Here we will not go into this oft repeated argument. However, it would suffice to say that these Mattamayūra ascetics appear to have wielded great power not only in Central India but also in some others parts of the country from the ninth to the thirteenth century AD. Many of them served as *rājagurus*, most of their names ended invariably either in *Śambhu* or in *Śiva* which clearly indicates their affiliation to the moderate Śaiva School. The monasteries built for the use of and by the *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra order were the seats of learning the Vedas and other Śāstras, they also served as charitable houses for feeding the destitute and as hospitals where the sick were tended.

It seems that all the ruling houses of this period liberally patronised the *maṭhas*. The Bilhari Stone Inscription mentions that besides several taxes and rates levied on oil mills and on elephants, horses, vegetable and other article sold in the local market were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions. These monasteries were usually built on the banks of holy rivers where the *ācāryas* could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these *ācāryas* is given in the Chandrehe Inscription. Many of the *ācāryas* engaged in austerities preferred to say in solitary retreats from the crowds. Maṭha, in the sence of a lodge for students, occurs in the *sūtras*, some of the early lexicons and very often as we have noticed in the inscriptions of this period. Maṭha, as a monastery where an order of ascetics may reside, occurs neither in the early Smṛtis nor in the early Purāṇas. However it is mentioned in the Nibandhas and some of the late Purāṇas indicating that the custom of founding a *maṭha* was assimilated in the Smārta tradition later. These neo-brahmanical monasteries as annexes to temples owed their origin to the Buddhist *vihāras* attached to the *caityas*.

According to the Bilhari Stone Inscription of the Kalacuris of Tripuri, queen Nohala invited a Śaiva ascetic named Īśvaraśiva and donated to him several villages. It has been suggested that this queen may have been related to Avantivarman whose capital was called Mattamayūra and that she may have been born in that Cālukya family of Mattamayūra. In the same inscription we hear that Yuvarājadeva's successor Lakṣmaṇarāja II invited Hṛdayaśiva from Madhumati to be made in charge of the holy Vaidyanāta (or Nauhaleśvara) monastery. Hṛdayaśiva placed this monastery in charge of his disciple Aghoraśiva. It seems, therefore, that the Mattamayūra *maṭha* supplied Śaiva ascetics to the monasteries in the Cedi country from time to time. According to the Gurgi and the Chandrehe inscriptions the ascetic Prabhavaśiva was respectfully invited by Yuvarājadeva I to be given some land and to be put in charge of a monastery built at a huge cost.

It seems quite plausible that these *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were invited on the insistence of the queen Nohala. At the same time we hear of this preference for these ascetics in inscriptions belonging to other dynasties as well. An inscription belonging to the Pratihāras from Kadwaha in the district Guna and belonging to the tenth century, and another fragmentary stone inscription of the same particulars belonging to

Harirājā Pratihāra, refer to ancient saints. There is a reference to the Purandāra *guru* Rampada which is almost certainly the same as Ranod the place where Purandāra practised penance as recorded in the Ranod Inscription. This inscription alludes to a leading Śaiva ascetic and eulogises Dharamśiva.

We hear that the preceptor *Dharamśiva* consecrated *Harirājā* (belonging to the Pratihāra dynasty) as his disciple. The latter is supposed to have granted him (villages) as *guru-dakṣinā*. Evidently the Śaiva ascetics mentioned in the inscription are no other than those recorded in the Ranod *praśasti* and allied inscriptions. The monastery at Kadwaha, in the ruins of which some inscriptions are found, is also connected with the same list saints. Another fragmentary stone inscription mentions the names of these ascetics and Īśvaraśiva. These two fragmentary inscriptions are part of two different epigraphs on the same building. It was earlier noticed that Avantivarman also had invited a Śaiva *ācārya* Purandāra to establish a *maṭha* in his capital Mattamayūra. The *ācāryas* of this *maṭha* erected temples and *maṭhas* at Ranod, Kadwaha, Terhai and other areas, all in the vicinity of Gwalior.

In the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha of (K) yr 926, the object is to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by Vimalaśiva, the religious preceptor of the King Jayasiṃha of the later Kalacuri dynasty of Tripuri. The god was named Kīrtiśvara after Vimalaśiva's *guru Kārtiśiva*. The King Jayasiṃha endowed it with three villages. The names of only Vimalaśiva and Vastuśiva are completely legible now. We do hear of Puruṣaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkaraṇa's prosperity. We also hear of Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayakarṇa and his disciple Kīrtiśiva who contributed to the prosperity of the King Narasiṃha. He was initiated into the Śaiva doctrine by Kīrtiśiva.

In the Senkapat Stone Slab Inscription of the time of Śiva Gupta Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala we are introducted to a Śaiva ascetic named Sadyaḥśivācārya who hailed from the penance grove called Amarddaka. A temple is dedicated to this Śaiva ascetic. The next three stanzas mentions certain obligations which the Śaiva ascetics had to fulfil such as the exposition of the Śaiva doctrine, initiation into the Śaiva faith and a free feeding house. The ascetics were required to reside in the temple and were prohibited from taking to money-lending.

According to the Śaiva Siddhānta there are three principles viz., the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and the fetters (*pāśa*). The system has four *padas*. These include *vidyā* or right knowledge, *kriyā* or action and process of initiation, *yoga* or meditation, concentration and *caryā* or conduct and discipline. The inscriptions of our period talk about these features. Some of the references are worth noting. The Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva of the Kalacuris refers to right knowledge because it is capable of destroying the multitudes of the bonds of worldly existence. The same inscription points out that the sage Chudaśiva had attained "the perfection of knowledge through the meditation on the feet of Śiva." Study of the Āgamas formed one of the essential aspects of gaining right knowledge. The Candrehe Stone Inscription of Prabdhaśiva mentions that Prabodhaśiva thought over all the Āgamas in order to realise god.

Kriyā, that is the activities and the process of initiation of the ascetics, is a reference

to the architectural and other activities of the ascetics. We get a large number of references in the inscriptions to this *pada*. According to the Chandrehe Stone Inscription Prabodhaśiva, "...by the process of excavating, breaking and ramming heaps of large stones, has constructed a wonderful way through the mountains (and) across rivers and streams and also through forests and thickets as Rāghava (did) across the ocean." The same inscription also refers to the building of a temple by Praśāntaśiva and the construction of a monastery. excavation of a lake, digging of a well and the rebuilding of a dilapidated well by Prabodhyaśiva. The Gurgi Stone Inscription lists a number of constructions by Śaiva ascetics. This includes a temple of Īśvara, a monastery on the bank of the river Son for the practice of *yoga* and another monastery on the bank of the Ganga at Varanasi by Praśāntaśiva and a number of other constructions by Prabodhaśiva.

The Gurgi Stone Inscription, once again provides us with information regarding the third important part of the Śaiva Siddhānta cult that is *yoga. Yoga* consists of meditation, concentration, *āsanas* and other allied processes. It mentions that Praśāntaśiva "seated in a solitary place mastered (all) the *āsanas*, who felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Śiva..." The inscription further mentions that in the monastery constructed by him on the bank of Son "having entered which, the tranquil *yogins,* who have destroyed the impediments of mental anxieties by (the performance of) vows and who have clear minds, having attained success in meditation, reach the goal of emancipation."

The next feature is *caryā*. The Bilhari Stone Inscription describing the mental qualities of Hṛdayaśiva says that he was one who "surpassed the earth by his forbearance, the cloud by his impartiality and the ocean by decorum of conduct and (who) vanquished the god of love by his freedom of passion." These ascetics are described in the Gurgi Stone Inscription as ones "whose minds were restrained by vows (and) who taught the great and flawless doctrine of Śiva to their disciples." Restrictions on diet also formed an essential aspect of discipline as is clear from the Chandrehe Stone Inscription which mentions that Prabodhaśiva "realised god by the performance of religious austerities and meditation and living on fruits of *priyāla, āmalaka* greens and *śaluka.*" His *guru* Praśāntaśiva is also described in the inscription as living on fruits, lotus stalks and roots. Daily worship of the images also seemed to have formed an important aspect of *caryā*.

Having briefly studied the philosophy of the Śaiva Siddhānta cult it becomes clear how erroneous scholars were in trying to prove that the Caunsaṭha Yogini Temple at Bheraghat was founded by the Śaiva *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan who were patronised by the Kalacuri rulers of Tripuri. There are two major difficulties in accepting this view. First, in the philosophy of the Mattamayūra sect, as known from the contemporary, records till now there is nothing to indicate that it was concerned with the worship of the Yoginis. Second, if the Yoginī worship has to be connected with the Mattamayūra sect then it has to be shown that whatever the temples of Caunsaṭha Yoginī were built, there was evidence of the Mattamayūra clan as well. However, we do not have such evidence at Khajuraho, Ranipur Jharial, Surada, Shahdol, Mitauli, Dudahi, Lokhari, and Coimbatore.

This attempt was made as there is a reference in the Mattamayūra Pillar Inscription to a Golakī *maṭha* which apparently was very famous. Due to "the round shape the temple was known as Golaki *maṭha*. It became in time an important seat of Śaiva *ācāryas* and spread its branches in Cudapah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot districts of Madras State." It may be pointed out here that the Caunsaṭha Yoginī Temple is a temple and not a *maṭha*. It is a centre of worship and not a place of residence for the monastics as there is no provision for the construction of cells for residence either inside the circular structure or even outside it. The fact is that the temple of Caunsaṭha Yoginī at Bheraghat had nothing to do with the Golakī *maṭha*. Originally it was built by the followers of the Yoginī Kaula sect and later under royal influence it became a place sacred for the followers of the Pāśupata sect.

As far as the Kāpālika sect is concerned there is no direct reference in the inscriptions to the prevalence of this school of Śivaism though there is one analogy of Śiva in the Chhoti Deori Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṅa of the Kalacuris of the Tripuri "who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys evil minded, who has bracelets of serpents." This could be a reference to the Kāpālika sect in an indirect way.

The Soma Siddhānta cult was also quite influential in our period as references to it occur in sme inscriptions. It has been suggested that Soma Siddhānta was an alternate name for the Kāpālikas. The Gurgi Stone Inscription opens with an obeisance to the holy Somanātha. The inscription mentions that the King Keyuravarśa made a grant of several villages for the benefit of Śiva Somanātha installed in the temple where the inscription was put up and for the support of the Śaiva ascetics who were in charge of it. Further we learn from the Bilhari Stone Inscription of Yuvarājadeva II that Lakṣmaṇarājā II marched from Tripuri to Somanātha Pattan and bathing in the sea there he worshipped the god Somanātha with lotuses of gold. The cult was also prevalent in Dakṣiṇa Kośala as the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II states that Brahmadeva donated a village to the God Somanātha.

One of the most striking and enduring characteristics of the ancient multifaceted religious tradition is the importance of goddess worship. Goddess cults remained essentially a folk tradition which operated at the margins of classical brahmanism for thousands of years. It is found that the Indian goddess has too long and varied a history to fit into a narrow strait-jacket. The goddess worship in India scarcely has the kind of unity and uniformity which is often assumed for it. It is at best a loose federation of cults and embraces within its fold elements of the most diverse nature and origin. It is with this understanding in mind that we will be able to include under a broad umbrella of goddess worship, cults of remarkable variables.

Goddesses, almost all over the Indian sub-continent, are known vaguely as "mothers.' These goddesses go back to a remote past and were represented mostly in terracotta figurines, either individually or in groups. The expressions *mātṛkā*, *mātaraḥ* or other such similar terms denoting mother are therefore amorphous terms in the history of Indian religions. Such terms denoting mother are applied to different goddesses who

seem to have been brought together under this rubric. This label is however at times misleading for the mother aspect is not always the dominant one. Sometimes there is a pronounced emphasis on the motherhood of the goddess and yet at times we will see that this aspect is relegated to the background. What is important here is to realise that there different strands within the goddess cult. For example, there are those who are the *śaktis* of the various male gods. Then there are those who are not the *śaktis* of the different gods but help a main goddess in her various battles. Then there are the *bhūtamātaraḥ* representing the countless primitive goddesses who continue to be worshipped in village India mostly by women during childbirth and for the protection of the family from diseases and misfortunes.

Indian tradition represents the great mother goddess with a very large number of names. It has been suggested that they are not merely names of the same goddess but that they originally indicated different goddesses worshipped by different tribes in different parts of the country and that they were afterwards identified with the mother goddess. Śakti is known as Mātaṅgī which shows that originally the goddess belonged to the Mātaṅga tribe. She is also called Caṇḍāli, which indicates that she was a goddess of the Caṇḍālas. Women clearly enjoyed a higher status in the tribal belts where the cult of the mother goddess was widely prevalent.

Looking at the literary tradition of our period, a tradition very different from the above discussed one, we find that views of the divine feminine are usually slanted in the direction of the so called Great Tradition, namely the tradition that is high caste, educated and predominantly male. The literary stream tends to ignore or look with suspicion on popular worship in which goddesses are widely revered independently. Such certainly must have been the case with the inscriptions too, for in our period we find a minimal amount of references to the goddess independently especially when she is depicted in the Yoginī form. It is very rare to find royalty openly announcing their allegiance and invoking a Yoginī form. It is very rare to find royalty openly announcing their allegiance and invoking a Yoginī in the inscriptions. At the same time there is no denying their pervasive prevalence, and, therefore, correspondingly their following must have also been considerable. The Yoginī temples are still extant and even though most of them are in a ruinous condition, at one time they must have also been considerable. The Yoginī temples are still extant and even though most of them are in a ruinous condition, at one time they have been constructed at a fairly large cost cnsidering their size and the exquisite nature of the sculpturing. They were not small nor insignificant. We will be attempting to answer the numerous queries that come to one's mind concerning the nature of Śivaism in the light of goddess worship whether in the form of Durgā, Pārvatī or the Yoginī as long as they seem to have a bearing on Śivaism.

There seems to have been initially two distinct versions of the female principle, one which is necessarily defined by male control and secondly one which is basically free but has got assimilated into the brahmanical classical sphere, legitimized and accepted by being either the consort of Śiva as Pārvatī or attendants of Śiva like the Yoginīs.

Where Durgā is concerned, she is important to us due to the fact that she is the

consort of Śiva and the mother of two important cultic deities. Where Śiva is not invoked directly or in any of his there aspects, then other members of his family find mention which after all indicates the popularity of the Great God. We know that a son or daughter, a brother or sister, even a husband or wife of a god or goddess is often the externalisation of a latent characteristic though the mytholgical myth making faculty and that they also indicate the rise of separate cults which retain a degree of independence inside the total complex of hierophany. There was a kind of interdependence of various cults—this independence for survival has been seen time and again in the inscription of the period under review. With this perspective in mind the cult of Durgā has tremendous importance for the study of Śivaism.

It must be borne in mind that the process of Durgā's growth in stature was long and steady. One by one she absorbed the main traits of mother goddesses and household deities who were worshipped for different things by different tribes.

References to several aspects of Devi-worship occur in the inscriptions under different names. The Paikore Stone Inscription of Karṇa records the dedication by King Karṇa of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified. The Alhaghat Stone Inscription of Narasiṃha of vs 1216 (AD 1069) records the construction of a temple of the Goddess Ambikā. The Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II of (K) yr 915 (AD 1163-64) states that Brahmadeva built nine temples of Pārvati at Ratanpur. Similarly the Sherinārāyaṇa Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II of (K) yr 919 (AD 1167-68) records the construction of a high temple of Durgā in front of a temple Śiva. The Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva III of (K) yr 933 (AD 1181-82) mentions that Gangadhar, the prime minister of Ratnadeva caused to be erected a temple of Durgā at Durg. Moreover obeisance paid to Sarasvati, Lakṣmi, Ambikā in several inscriptions proves amply the prevalence of the Śakti cult in the region.

In the Candella territory, Śakti is eulogised with her different names and forms such as Maheśvari, Bhavānī, Pārvati, Girijā, Kāli, Bhāratī, Mahiṣāsuramardini, and Nagendra-Kanyā. We also have inscription evidence of a separate temple of Kālī. Traditions current in Mahoba regard Manīyā Deo (Devi), a tribal deity of the aboriginal people of the area, as the tutelary deity of the Candellas throughout their history. A shrine dedicated to the goddess exists at Mahoba, where a rude figure is carved on a projecting boulder. There is another small temple of Manīyā Devi on the hill of Manīyagarh (Rajgarh), the site of a large ruined fort on the left bank of the Ken river, from the remains of which has been found an image of a female with sword in hand. This has been identified as the figure of Maniyā Devi. It has been suggested that it does not appear improbable that she was a sort of compromise between the brahmanical Pārvati and the naked female worship to this day by some tribes of Gonds. In the barbic account of Chand reference is made to Maniyādevi as the goddess of the Candellas to whom they appealed in times of danger. It is truly strange that there is no epigraphic reference to this form of mother goddess.

In the Master Inscription of a Śulki chief we find in the first four verses an introductory invocation to mother divine and her consort Śiva. She is described as the

divine *devī* who pervades the animate and the inanimate and even where Śiva is brought in his description is as 'the bee around the lotus face of Gaurī.' In the fourth verse we get an idea of tension between Pārvati and Jāhnavī. Parvatī's eyebrows are knit in anger at the sight of Jāhnavī. In the Ajayagadh R.I. of Kalyāṇadevī we hear: "may the divine Gaṅgā on Śiva's head protect you (she who is) attenuated as it were with jealousy seeing half his body appropriated by the daughter of the mountain." This is rare instance where we find an invocation of Gaṅgā alone. It is similar to the previous one in that it indicates a cultic tension between two strains of the Devī cult itself which is rather unique. In the second verse of the inscription under discussion it is said, "glory be to that one friend of the god of love who gladdens the eyes and is the head ornament of the moon crested." Later we read "to some Vaśiṣṭha's wife (i.e. Arundhati) is an object of reverence, others indeed adore the splendid daughter or the mountain who is the half of Śiva's body. Some again have glorified Gaṅgā (and) others take pains to praise the beloved of Kāma."

The earliest epigraphic mention of a sculpture of the Paramāras is found in the Ujjain grant of Vākpatirājadeva dated vs. 1036 (AD 979). It records the donation of a village by the king himself for defraying the expenses of worship and repairs of the temple of Bhaṭṭeśvarī at Ujjain. It has been stated that this epithet was evidently to be identified with Durgā and that it appears to be one of the local names of that deity.

In another inscription belonging to the time of the Candella ruler Kirtivarman, we find the opening salutation is to goddess Caṇḍikā. In an inscription from the Ajayagadh Fort we are told that a person called Subhata is said "to have caused to make images of Kedāra, Pārvati, Aindri, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālikā, Īśvara, Pārvati, Ambikā, Tārā, Tripurā, Kāmāksyā, and Harasiddhi."

In the Narwar Inscription of Yajvapāla Gopāla of vs. 1338 (AD 1281) there is mention of a goddess Mahāruṇḍā. This is after the invocation to Śiva, Sadāśiva and Acyuta (Viṣṇu). Mahāruṣā is no doubt a form of the mother goddess who was actively being worshipped at this time. What is even more interesting is that we further hear that the protagonist was a Pāśupata. There seems to be a hesitation in these inscriptions at the very beginning to openly pay obeisance to what seems like more primitive yet powerful forms of the mother goddess. We find similar instances in other inscriptions of this time as well.

Amongst many obscure religious cults of ancient and early medieval India, the cult of Caunsaṭha Yoginī was one. Literary references to the Yoginī may be traced as far as the post-Vedic period. In the form of a regular cult worship the Yoginis came into existence sometime during the eighth-ninth centuries. The Tantric cult of the Yoginis, one of the lesser known sects of the form of heterodox worship referred to as Kāula Mārga, appears to have risen to considerable significance in these centuries. The most fascinating dimension of this analysis is the process of cultural interaction of priestly Sanskritic and tribal elements. We postulate that may be these Yoginis were village goddesses, some fierce, some awe-inspiring and others mild, benign and motherly who were not yet assimilated into Durgā's *pantheon.*

We find that the inscriptions of our time usually invoke a god or even a form of a

goddess who is more acceptable and legitimate so to say in the beginning verses. Somewhere in the labyrinth of verses in the middle we find a reference to a goddess who is not easily identifiable by her name. At the best one can surmise on the non-Sanskritic element of the name. At times, her attributes and functions are briefly described through which some inferences may be made? One the basis of this epigraphical data we will attempt to locate if there was a Yoginī cult and if so, what were its main features and practices. The attention is justified as the Yoginīs seem to have had a close relation to Śiva as is seen by the inscriptional evidence found near the Yoginīs temples and also the fact that it seems that a temple of Śiva was always constructed in the middle of the Caunsaṭha Yoginī Temple. The Bheraghat figures are damaged but most of them fortunately retain their names inscribed in the peripheral chapels. The names are not canonical and are evidently adopted from popular cults.

In the Bījamandir Bhilsa Stone Inscription of Paramāra ruler Naravarman, we read of a panegyric of a goddess called Carcikā. The inscription is undated but has been ascribed between 1194 and 1133. It has been said that the temple of goddess Carcikā is situated in the modern city of Vidiśā and is known as Bījamandir. It has also been said that the temple was converted into a mosque by the later Muslim rulers. This identification of the original temple is based on epigraphic records discovered from the ruins of the Paramāra temple at the site. Carcikā is not a very common name. The *Vāmanapurāṇa* specifically mentions the name of a goddess Carcikā and in the Supia Inscription of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta there is a reference to the building of a shrine of the goddess Carcikā. By the evidence it may be said that her worship may have been popular during the time of the Guptas. Since Naravarman speaks of Carcikā at a much later period it is probable that the religious names of goddesses were based on different local traditions of the worship of several mother goddesses who were being brought within the orbit of a single cult, that is the Yoginī cult. Carcikā is also mentioned as one of the Yoginīs in the list given in the *Devīpurāṇa*.

We are further told in the Bījamandir Inscription that the lord of Dhara became master of the earth through the goddess Carcikās' favour and when properly worshipped she conferred upon her devotee the supernatural power of 'flying in the sky'. She was also supposed to have made him 'fit for his work.' This goddess is mentioned in only one more inscription of this period—the Pujāripali Stone Inscription of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. This inscription has a mine of information regarding the attributes of different goddesses. This is so far the only epigraphical evidence of an explicit nature that we possess of the Yoginīs. It does not probably date before the twelfth century AD. The first line, which is almost completely mutilated contains the names of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara joined in a compound. The inscription names various goddesses by names such as Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Narasiṃhī, Aindrī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Carcikā. Their forms and vehicles are described in consonance with their epithets.

Since we know that Varāhī and Aindrī are sculptured in the Caunsaṭha Yoginī Temple at Bheraghat we can hypothesise that the goddesses mentioned here may be one of the group of Yoginīs. Many of the epithets of the goddesses and in some cases even their

descriptions are taken from the *Devī Māhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. Here also we can notice the belief in magical formulae as Gopāladeva, the issue of the record is said to be repeating a goddess' *mantra* ten million times, after which he got a bon from her that he would have 'matchless strength and prowess and valour.' It seems that the goddess having become pleased with Gopāla, granted him a boon that he would attain success in all his affairs and acquire all knowledge. Such is the complete devotion of Gopāla that we read of him desiring himself to be the *vāhana* of the goddess 'as Nandī is (dear) to Maheśa, as Garuḍa to Viṣṇu so (art thou) Gopāla, a son of the goddess Vārāhī undoubtedly.'

In another inscription belonging also to the Kalacuris of the Ratanpur branch—the Bilaigarh Plates of Pṛthvideva II of (K) yr (AD 1144-45) the king is said to be famous for his knowledge of Śākambarī *vidyā*. Śākambarī is said to be a name of Durgā and as Śākambarī, she provides the world with food from her own body. She is also mentioned in the list of Yoginīs given in the *Bṛhannandikeśvarapurāṇa*. What interests us here is that the inscription refers to some superhuman power which the person attained by propitiating the goddess? It is indicated also that it was through this *vidyā* 'which is incomparable in all the worlds', that the king defeated his enemies with ease in the forefront of the battle.

We get resonances of such similar favours being granted in a Paramāra inscription—the Harsauda Stone Inscription of Devapāla of vs 1275 (AD 1218). As is often fund in the case of these goddesses the inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva. However subsequently we hear of a boon bestowed on the king by the favour of the holy Limbāryā. It states that Devapāla obtained majesty (i.e., the sovereignty of Dhara) through a boon bestowed upon him by the favour of Limbāryā. A parallel case we have already noticed is with goddess Carcikā. Limbāryā has been taken to be a local deity. In fact, Devapāla is described as being a devout worshipper of Maheśvara 'gloriously' because of the grace of the goddess Limbāryā. The object of the record provides us with additional informatin as it is connected with Lakuliśa Śivaism, as there is mention of a temple of Śambhu and among the various images mention is made of one of Nakuliśa which indicates a leaning toward the Pāśupata cult as well. It is also significant that an unfamiliar goddess who, it may be hazarded by the non-Sanskrit sounding name, was a tribal deity, is worshipped along with Nakuliśa. That these goddesses can be assoicated with Śiva in a broad way has been noticed but that they can also be associated with a sect like the Pāśupatas is interesting. The Pāśupata ascetics were supposed to be celibate and also had several tenets and a severe life-style that somehow do not seem to be in consonance with the worship of the goddess.

It would appear from stories found in Bhavabhūti's drama *Mālatimādhava* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* that Yoginīs met periodically in cemeteries where they formed a circle and collectively offered a human victim to their god Śiva as Bhairava. This shows that they seemed to have had an affinity with the Kāpālika cult. We also further hear of a Yoginī observing the vow of a Kāpālika which indicated that they may have been sorceresses belonging to the Kāpālika fold. The Kāpālikas, as referred to earlier, were a heterodox sect of Śivaism whose cult practices included the partaking of meat and wine

to be consumed from *kapālas* or skull bowls, the eating of human flesh, the indulgence in human sacrifice and the performance of various rites connected with corpses. There was also a strong erotic content involved in the Kāpālika ritual.

The history of Śivaism in many of its stages is not different from that of Śaktism. Āgamic texts describe as many as sixty-four Bhairavas divided into groups of eight each and they are said to be consorts of sixty-four Yoginis referred to in the Tantric form of Śakti worship. It seems now that the orthodox tradition became increasingly aware of the power of the Yoginis as a religious order which was drawing away such large groups of worshippers. Realising that the Yoginis possessed a certain persistent and magnetic appeal it decided to incorporate these goddesses at least into the outer fringes of its own tradition. This then must have been the period in which an attempt at assimilation of these goddesses must have taken place and the modus operandi for this operation was via Śiva. By nature Śivaism was the religion of the masses especially of the lower strata of society and hence it had the greatest potentiality of absorbing these Yoginis elements. It was in Śivaism that the ideas centering Arund Śakti or the female principle had fund a ground most favourable for their expansion without being shunned overtly. Here we can witness the integrative role of Śivaism.

There is one more connection that may be offered by way of hypothesis. The practice of Shamanism in the ancient and early medieval context is evident in other area. A theory had been put forward in the nineteenth century that the word was derived from the Pāli, Sanskrit *śramaṇa* and Chinese *sha-men*. Although the theory has been disproved the cultural and historical foundations of shamanism have been sought in Buddhism and others of the great scultural traditions of the east. The shaman "specializes in the trance state during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky." Because of this ability to leave his body with impunity the shaman can, if he so wishes, act in the manner of a spirit; he flies through the air, becomes invisible. If we keep this in mind we can see a rational explanation in the belief system for the very peculiar hypaethral structure of the Yogini temples prevalent in Madhya Pradesh and other areas of this period.

The wide distribution of this phenomenon of shamanism and the endemicity of some its basic ideas of soul-flight, soul-dualism and link with animal ceremonialism in the Arctic and sub-Arctic culture, to however support the palaeolithic hunting cultures. But primitive elements survive in all religious beliefs shared by a considerable number of people. Kosambi believes "...Śiva's elevation to the highest abstract principle. If however we not that Śiva is a cosmic dancer, that a dance by the tribal medicine man or which doctor is essential in most primitive fertility rites, the way to an explanation becomes clear." It has been suggested that "Gaṇesh, the elephant headed deity and Śiva's horrendous dance in the skin of a flayed elephant both suggest tribal shamanism." Kosambi has also warned against using tribal imagery and yet discarding and trying to rise above the primitive man's circumscribed ideology by those historians who feel ennobled by thinking of Śiva as the fundamental cosmic principle and his dance as the actuating essence of the whole universe of matter, movement, thought and action.

In the inscriptions of our period Śiva is referred to in his physician image, that is, Vaidyanātha. The Stone Inscription of Kokkala Candella dated (Vik) yr 1058 (AD 1000-1001) is said to have been found at the temple of Vaidynātha at Khajuraho. We hear of the erection of a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha and a set of buildings for pious brāhmaṇas by one Kokkala. We hear, "May that Śaṅkara who takes away all diseases (and) supports movable and immovable protect you—he whose dwelling place is the cemetery, who holds mighty sway over goblins and who applies ashes to his body to decorate it." Another reference asserting this healer aspect of Śiva "People overcome with severe distress (brought about) by violent fever (sent)...those afflicted by leprosy which displays its fierce might by sore thumbs and forearms (and all) are freed from evil when they set eyes on the clearly shown uncouth twisted tresses of hair."

In the Bheraghat Gaurī Śaṅkara Temple Inscription of Vijayasiṃha I which is incised on a stone slab let into the front wall on the right hand side of the door leading into the sanctuary of the temple of the Gaurī Śaṅkara at Bheraghat which incidentally is situated almost in the centre of the Caunsaṭha Yogini Temple. Though it has been maintained that it belonged to a later period. The enshrined deity appears to be named Bhagnakhidra, that is the destroyer of diseases. R.D. Banerji suggested that it may be a name of Śiva who is so called because he drives away diseased and it is not unlikely that the temple was erected and the image of the god was installed by way of thanksgiving after recovery of illness of the dowager queen or one of other sons. The Bheraghat Stone Inscription of Narasiṃha of (K) yr 907 of the later Kalacuri dynasty also records the construction of temple of Śiva under the name of Vaidyanātha together with a *maṭha* or monastery. The reference to a Pāśupata ascetic clearly attests the affinity of Pāśupatas with this form of Śiva in the role of a physician.

Finding two inscriptions from Bheraghat with references to Śiva as a destroyer of diseases is significant. Śiva's possibility of being a tribal medicine man has been referred to earlier. We have also seen how royalty worshipped the Yoginis for strength and magical powers such as flying. The Yoginīs cult raised to supreme importance the aspect of *bhukti* which concentrates on the acquisition of magical powers through which alone one may achieve immediate success and fame in the worldly context. Also Shamanism is usually closely connected with animals. The depiction around each Yogini of profuse sculpture is usually that of animals and birds. Also some of the names of the Yoginis are connected with animals and are descriptive of the form in which they are depicted, for instance, Śrī Erudi (horse faced), Śrī Haṃsini, Śrī Gajānanī. It has been suggested that the term therianthropic would be an apt term to define such figures. In fact the group of muscians called *kinnaras* referred to in several Purāṇas in connection with Śiva may have also been shamans. The *kinnaras* were mythical beings with a human figure and with a head of a horse or with a horse's body and the head of a man. It was perhaps originally a kind of monkey, in later times reckoned among the *gandharvas* or celestial choristers and celebrated as musicians.

Gaṇeśa, the son of Śiva, is a member of the Śiva group of deities. Hence obeisance to him occurs in several inscriptions of the dynasties of this period especially in those

belonging to the Kalacuris of Tripuri. In the Rewa Plate of Jayasiṃha of (K) yr 926 (AD 1175), we find in the beginning a verse in honour of Gaṇeśa. The epithet used in Heramba. Heramba is described as "joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed unimpeded and obstructing is Heramba the Lord of Gaṇas." The object of the record is the grant of a village. It may have been made on Gaṇeśa-Caturthī and the religious ceremonies and the gifts of brāhmaṇas connected with them must have been performed after the *tithi* commenced on that day. Jayasiṃha, the donor, has been called a devout worshipper of Maheśvara and the lord of Trikaliṅga. Another inscription that invoked Heramba is the Modi Stone Inscription of vs 1314 (AD 1258). Once again in the second line there is the description of a deity who appears to be Śiva. The immediate object is to record some donation in the form of land, villages and money made to the temples at Modi.

The Harsauda Stone Inscription of Devapāla of vs. 1275 (AD 1218) opens with an invocation to Śiva but it is followed by three verses in honour of and invoking Heramba, who is bowed down to at the beginning of the undertakings along with Bhāratī and the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Devapāla is described however as a devout worshipper of Maheśvara. The object is to record the construction of a temple of Śambhu by a person called Keśava. As a remover of obstacles and bestower of success, Gaṇeśa-worship is almost non-sectarian in character and hence we find that obeisance to him occurs along with other deities. This inscription is belong to the Paramāras of Malwa. In the Udayapur Stone Inscription of the eleventh century it is interesting to note an invocation to Gaṇeśa alongwith Pārvatī. Gaṇeśa is described as holding a sharp axe, "raised in order to cut off as it were the root of the great sinfulness of his worshippers." The Piplianagar Copperplate Grant of Mahākumāra Hariścandra of vs 1253 (AD 1196) and also belonging to the Paramāra dynasty, opens with an obeisance like many other Paramāra grants, with two verses in honour of Śiva as *Smararate* and *Vyomakeśa* but there is an obeisance to Śrī Gaṇeśa also.

In a Candella Stone Inscription of Gaṇapati dated vs. 1339 (AD 1282) reference is made to 'Dani Vināyaka.' The Khajuraho Viśvanātha Temple Inscription of vs. 1059 (AD 1002) praises Śiva, Pāśupati, Digambara, Śuladhara, Maheśvara Bhāratī and Gaṇeśa. The object was to record the construction of a temple of Śambhu by Dhaṅga in which were installed *liṅga* of emerald and another of ordinary stone. It is clear the way Gaṇeśa is mentioned along with several other deities that he did not have an independent cultic following in the region but as an element of the Śaiva *pantheon*. In the Rewah (Dhureti) Copperplate Inscriptions of Trailokyavarman, the verses open with an obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati. The first two verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and Śiva respectively. This is a curious fact as Kṛṣṇa is not a common deity among the Candella inscriptions.

The undated Paikore Pillar Inscription has a brief mention of the 'holy Gaṇapati.' The object of the incription is to record the dedication by King Karna of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified.

In the Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II mention is made of installing Umā and Śiva united in the shrines attached to a temple and also Gaṇapati and Sarasvai belongs to the Kalacuris of Tripuri. It is interesting that mention should be made of

Gaṇapati in an inscription which is mainly concerned with the Śaiva-Siddhāntikas. In the Bheraghat Stone Inscription of Narasiṃha of the same dynasty of (K) yr 907 (AD 1155) we hear of Gaṇapati though not directly called Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa or any of the other epithets but "elephant faced who under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of the moon free from the slightest dark spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles." Once again the record is in connection with Śaiva ascetics, that is the construction of a *maṭha* and a temple of Vaidyanātha.

In the Gopālpura Stone Inscription of Vijayasiṃha the object is to record the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu. However, in the middle we read an interesting conversation between Gaṇapati and Pārvati, where there is an indication toward the family of Śiva and as though an attempt is being made to introduce Gaṇapati as an integral part of Śiva's pantheon. Gaṇapati is described as Ekadanta, *i.e.*, 'having only one tusk.' Gaṇeśa thinks that his other tusk, which is missing, is seen in the form of the moon on the head of his father Śiva. This is unique inscription for the opening invocation is to Vāsudeva and there is just one other reference to Śiva as Śrikaṇṭha. Without any attempt to revere him the invocation is for Viṣṇu, yet Gaṇeśa has been mentioned. The inscription is undated but has been said to belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century AD.

The Mallar Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II of (K) yr 919 (AD 1167-68), like the previous one, belongs to the Ratanpur branch of the Kalacuris. The initial verses invoke the blessings of Śiva and Gaṇapati. The verses concerning Gaṇeśa are descriptive of his trunk which is 'large and extremely terrific.' The object is to record the construction of a temple of Śiva under the name of Kedāra by a Brāhmaṇa. Again in the Karanbel Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha of the same dynasty which is undated and incomplete. Gaṇeśa's tusk has been referred to and he has been called Gajānana and directly connected with Śiva, "May that Gajānana protect you ! (he) who possesses in the guise of his (curved) tusk one half of the moon which is none other than that on the crown of the coiled matted hair of Dhūrjati (*i.e.*, Śiva)." In the Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva III of Ratanpur of yr 933 (AD 1181-82) Gaṇapati is mentioned several times and for the first time we find reference to a temple built to accommodate him. A shining temple is referred to along with that of Hara and Heramba. Again later in the inscription we hear about the construction of "Tunta Gaṇapati who grants all the desired objects and destroys obstacles." In the Koni Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II of yr 900 (AD 1148), we hear of yet another myth involved with Gaṇeśa, he is called the god of two mothers and his characteristic of threatening obstacles and a reference to his dance. Gaṇeśa is supposed to have been brought up by the goddesses Durgā and Cāmuṇḍā. In the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of yr 1207 (AD 1167-68), we hear of a leader of the *gaṇas* (i.e., Gaṇapati). There is also a reference to 'his violent dance of his trunk' which draws resonances with Śiva's violent Tāṇḍava dance.

Chronologically, the earliest mention of Kārttikeya in our period is in two inscriptions belonging to the Nalas, first, the Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman which have been assigned to the latter half of the fifth or first half of the sixth century AD. In the opening verses there is an obeisance to Maheśvara and Mahāsena (Kārttikeya). Next we

have the Kesaribeda Plates of Arthapati-Bhaṭṭārika. These have also been placed in the fifth or sixth century AD. The king is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Maheśvara and Mahāsena (Skanda-Kārttikeya). This may also be taken to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the god Śiva and Skanda.

The epithet for Kārttikeya Mahāsena which is found in two inscriptions out of a total of four Nala inscriptions is significant. Kārttikeya is clearly mentioned along with Śiva as in an inserparable bond out there is in elaboration on the relationship or the dynamics between the two. These are the only inscriptions that we have found so far pertaining to this period that begin with an obeisance to Kārttikeya. We also find a reference to Kārttikeya which is almost always in a brief descriptive manner used normally as in a comparison. But in the Nala epigraphs he is called Mahāsenapati, that is the lord of the divine army. He is believed to have inherited Indra's role as the divine general and is also provided with an apparently invisible demon-foe Tāraka. The *Mahābhārata* gives a elaborate account of birth of Kārttikeya and explains the reason for his birth, that is to slay Tāraka and Tāraka could not be slained except by the son born of Rudra's seed. In the Mallar Plates of Sūrabala Udiranavaira of yr 8 (early seventh or eight century AD), we are informed here that a person named Indra is comparing his birth from Indrabhattaraka, his mother, to that of god Kārttikeya from Pārvati. This is repeated in the other inscriptions also. In the Bamhani Plates of Udiranavaira yr 2 (early seventh century AD), the king has Indra for a second name. Now we find this is leitmotif is most of the inscriptions *i.e.,* a close association between Pārvati and Skanda. In the Bardula Plates of Śivagupta of yr 9 (middle of the eighth century AD), Kārttikeya has been referred to as the son of "the wearer of the skin (*i.e.,* god Śiva) who is born of the lunar family..."

The Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala also have the odd reference to Kārttikeya in their inscriptions. In the Sirpur Laksmaṇa Temple Stone Inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, there is a reference once again to Pārvati and Kārttikeya together, "even as the daughter of the mountain Pārvati was of the peacock rider (Kārttikeya...). The date corresponds to the eighth century AD.

The next inscriptional reference to Kārttikeya is found in the time of the later Kalacuris of Tripurī. In the Chandrehe Stone Inscription of Prabodhaśiva of (K) yr 724 (AD 973), there is a trifle long comparison between Kārttikeya who is referred to as Kumāra and Śaivite ascetic—he was "like Kumāra whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (as Kumāra's hand in feeding his mighty peacock), who (like Kumāra) always avoided the company of women, who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (as Kumāra exhibited that of his dart on the Krauñca mountain) who was devoted to (Śiva) the enemy of the mind-born (as Kumāra was also clear to him) and who performed (all) his duties towards the gods (as Kumāra accomplished the work of the god, *viz.,* the destruction of the demon Tāraka). There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage, the other with Kārttikeya.

In the Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II (AD 972-3) Kārttikeya is referred to as six-faced. There is a reference to a sage Yuvarājadeva of the Mattamayūra clan of

Śaiva ascetics getting a shrine and temple built in which alongwith the images of Umā, Śiva united with Umā and the six-faced (Kārttikeya) and also Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī at the gate. The *Mahābhārāta* mentions Rohitaka as the habitat of Kārttikeya and states that this place is inhabited by the Mattamayūra tribe. We have historical records of a Śaiva clan called the Mattamayūra, whose seat was in Central India. They appear in history from the seventh century onwards. This is a tribe of warrior folk. Thus the relationship between the warrior-god and the peacock which must have been the totem or mark of the tribe is established; the epic makes the peacock Skanda's insignia. It seems plausible to say that Kārttikeya may have been a tutelary god of a warlike people whose tribal badge was the peacock. Originally, therefore, he must have enjoyed independent cultic ritual. Now we can clearly see the attempt being made to merge the worship of Skanda in that of Śiva in Madhya Pradesh and separate shrines are therefore seldom found dedicated to this deity.

References to Kārttikeya are also to be found in the inscriptions belonging to the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. The Akaltara Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva II has been approximately assigned to AD 1142-43. Here also we find an inscription opening with an obeisance of Śiva. But the object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of Revanta who is the son of Saptaśva of the sun. We find in the middle of the inscription a reference of Kumāra (Kārttikeya); "he is possessed of great powers (as Kārttikeya is in destroying the enemies of gods); and appears splendid with his mighty and spreading fire-like prowess (as Kārttikeya looks beautiful with the proud stepping of his peacock)." In an incomplete and fragmentary inscription of Pṛthvideva II of the same dynasty, there is a reference to Kārttikeya as Gūha in connection with the way Pārvatī treated Gūha and Yaśodā treated Kṛṣṇa. It is significant that Kārttikeya is hardly ever mentioned as Śiva's direct issue. There seems to be reluctance to identify his as Śiva's son. There must have been a resistance to the fusion of the Śiva and Kārttikeya cults. Though it had been suggested that Śiva's blue neck may also indicate an amalgamation with the cult of Kārttikeya whose mount was the blue-neck peacock. The association of Pārvatī and Kārttikeya may be sequential, because all over the world there was the cult of a holy family composed of mother and son' at first but later (when the man's contribution in the procreative process was recognised) of father, mother and son.

In the Ratanpura Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II of vs 1207 (AD 1150), we find in the earlier verses references to Rudra, Gaurī and Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati's reference is not really in connection with Śiva but almost in the fashion of an independent deity. This is the first inscription where we find the entire family mentioned. Kārttikeya is referred to as "That son of the daughter of the mountain *i.e.*, Kārttikeya is an enemy of Tāraka..." In the reference Kārttikeya seems more of a son to Pārvatī than to Śiva. The object of this inscription is definitely Śaivic in nature, that is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva under the name of Bilvapāṇi which is desribed later.

In the Koni Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II of (K) yr 900 (AD 1148) Kārttikeya is referred to, with yet another epithet that is Skanda. There is a comparison drawn once

again between "Hari as from the Nanda so Skanda from the moon-crested (Śiva). The inscription starts with reference to Śiva busy in his Tāṇḍava dance. We also find a reference to the bull and Gaṇeśa of two mothers. For the first time we find a reference where Kārttikeya is associated directly as coming from Śiva in the Jabalpur Stone Insription of Jayasiṃha of (K) yr 926 (AD 1174-75). Once again, Kārttikeya is mentioned in a comparative way, "...who resembled Pārvati was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda."

That Śaivism was paramount may be gauged from the epithets used to denote Śiva in the inscriptions and the tremendous variety of these epithets. They reveal to us the prevalent beliefs and the popularity of certain forms and attributes. Repeated usage of certain epithets would indicate the pertinent myths revolving around Śiva and the features that must have been popular. For a well chosen epithet often constitutes a picture by itself, adding a dividness to the context and rubbing up a vogue and worn noun and throwing light upon those of its connotations which should attract the attention of the audience. An epithet may typify and express an opinion beautifully and add to the intelligibility of a passage, without interrupting the course of the narrative or the movement of the poem by a long parenthesis or burdening them by a cumbersome description.

Invocations are not just found in the opening stanza but throughout the inscription. It is quite common to find many different epithets being employed therefore for a single deity in one single inscription.

We find certain epithets which pronounce Pārvati, in whatever form, as far more important than Śiva. That is Śiva is attached merely as an appendage to an epithet of Pārvati's just by virtue of being her spouse. In three inscriptions belonging to the Paramāras, Śiva has been called Bhavānipati, that is the spouse of Bhavāni. The Bhopal Copperplate Grant of Arjunavarman of vs. 1270 (AD 1213), the Bhopal Copperplate Grant of Jayasiṃha of vs. 1331 (AD 1274). In the three, the grants were made only after worshipping the divine consort of Bhavāni *i.e.*, Bhavānipati. In the Augasi Copperplate of the Candellas of vs. 1190 (AD 1133), the king offers oblation to the lord of Bhavāni. The Maser Inscription of the Candella period opens with an obeisance to Śambhu but in the first four verses there is an invocation to the Mother Divine and her consort Śiva. In yet another Candella Copperplate Inscription of Mahobā of King Paramarddideva of vs 1230 (AD 1173), the king is said to have worshipped the lord of Bhavāni along with the sun and duly made the gift.

The Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala have referred to Śiva as Pārvati Parameśvara in the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa Temple Stone Inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna of the mid-eighth century AD.

In the Gyaraspur Pillar Inscription of Mahāumāra Trailokyavarman which is undated but belongs to the twelfth century, there is a reference to the consecration of an image of the god Cāmuṇḍaswāmideva, which is an epithet of Śiva.

Most of the kings of this period called themselves *paramamaheśvara* that is the devout worshipper of Maheśvara. Several epithets ending with Īśvara are to be found

such as Mahākāleśvara, Kanakhaṭeśvara, Siddheśvara, Nilakaṇṭheśvara, Bhojeśvara. Some of these names had to do with the area where the temple was built like the Amarkaṇṭaka there is the temple of Amareśvara. Whether the name of the deity came first or whether the area was named after the deity is a debatable point. Some of the epithets had to do with the name of the king who was responsible for having the deity installed such as Bhojeśvara and Kṛṣṇeśvara, constructed by Rājā Bhoja and Kṛṣṇa respectively.

In other cases, we find epithets and appellations descriptive of Śiva's attributes or even describing his appearance or even a particular episode. In something like eleven Paramāra inscriptions we encounter the dual epithets *Smararate* and *Vyomakeśa*. These two epithets are used together in a verse always in the beginning of the copperplate grants with little or no variation. This verse seems to have been first used by the Paramāra king Bhoja and following him his successors followed his cue. *Vyomakeśa* means he who has the sky for his hair—which apparently is a reference to Śiva's abundant hair. *Smararate* is the foe of the god of love and is descriptive of the episode of Śiva killing Kāma.

Śiva is called Śūlapāṇi in the Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla of (K) yr 963 (AD 1212) and the Charkhari Copperplate of Devavarman of the Candella dynasty. This epithet probably directs notice to the fact Śiva's attribute is the *śula*, that is the *triśūla* and he holds it in his hand (*paṇi*). Similar to this epithet is Śūladhāra found in the Khajuraho Viśvanātha Temple Inscription of the Candellas of vs. 1059 (AD 1002). We also hear of Bilvapāṇi as an epithet for Śiva in the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva II of vs 1207 (AD 1150). This is obviously an epithet associated with Śiva due to his fondness for the *bilva* plant just like the epithet Daṇḍādhipati is a reference to the primate or the mace of Śiva.

Purāri is found in the Pachar Copperplate Inscription of vs. 1233 (AD 1176) and in the Kalañjara Stone Inscription of Paramarddin of vs 1258 (AD 1201). This epithet may be descriptive of Śiva's association with the destroying forts. It is similar to *purabhid* found in the Sheorinārāyaṇa Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur, and to Tripurārā found in the Jained Stone Inscription of the time of Jagaddeva.

There are an assortment of epithets describing the moon on Śiva's hair such as *candrārdhamauli* found in the Bhojpur Stone Inscription of Bhoja. In the Sheorinārāyaṇa Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II we hear the epithet Candracūḍa for Śiva and in the Bheraghat Stone Inscription of Narasiṃha of (K) yr 907 (AD 1155), Śiva is referred to as Indumauli. Dhūrjati is another epithet found in the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pṛthvideva or (K) yr 915. This is a reference to Śiva's matted locks.

Epithets such as 'Śiva' and 'Śambhu' are the most commonly found ones in our period. Rarely we find Kedārya as in the Ajayagaḍha Rock Inscription and Traikṣa that is the three eyed aspect of Śiva, in the Rewa Stone Inscription of Karṇa Viśvanātha Temple Inscription alongwith several other epithets. Two other unusual epithets found in the inscriptions are Padamudhyata in the Rewah Copperplate of Kumārapāla.

Śiva is also called Hara in the inscriptions even though this is usually the case when he is being referred to in association with Hari that is Viṣṇu. In Paramāra

Naravaman's Nagpur Stone Inscription (AD 1104) we find Śiva is invoked and references are made to his auspicious and terrific from describing the episode when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura and how he is embellished with copious ashes. It is however after this that we come across the verse which is pertinent to prove that some conflict and tension must have been there between the two major sects and that there is an attempt here of some kind of reconciliation. "May the form, the form of Hari-Hara or Viṣṇu and Śiva, grant you both enjoyment and salvation which is both passionless and passionate, wearning both a wreath of human skulls and flower garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned with both serpents and with pearl strings and other ornaments and both smeared with ashes and with perfume, Śiva is fearful as well as auspicious." This is an excellent example of an attempt at syncretism. Here we find attributes of both Viṣṇu and Śiva beautifully delineated and extolled even though it is clearly a Śaiva inscription, as both the features are seen as two different aspects of Śiva himself and no of Viṣṇu.

Śiva is called Hara in the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of South Kosala in the Sirpur Gandheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Sivagupta Bālārjuna.

In the Sās Bahū Temple Inscription of Kaćchapaghāta ruler Mahipāla of vs. 1150 (AD 1093), there is a reference to Hara once again along with Hari and Brahmā.

At times we find clearly sectarian attempts to depict Viṣṇu as superior to Śiva and Brahmā as noticed in the Lakṣmaṇaji Temple Inscription of vs. 1011 (AD 954); it is claimed here that "Hari is higher than Hara as the latter holds on his head Gaṅgā, an offering to the feet of Viṣṇu.

Sometimes adjectival epithets are found as in the Jainad Stone Inscription of Jagaddeva. Śiva is invoked as Sthāṇu *i.e.*, the tree like Śiva who is indivisible and first born and who possesses great extensin of shade and is lofty and stands firm in the range of wood..."

Another unusual epithet encountered only in the inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, is Vankeśvara. This was probably a Prākṛt name of Śiva. There was an old temple of Vaṅkeśvara at Tummana, the old capital of the Kalacuris. The object of worship was an image and not a *liṅga*. The Amoda Plates state that the King Pṛthvideva I washed the resplendent feet of the god before he made a grant to a brāhamaṇa on the occasion of the construction of the *catuśikhā* of the temple. Not being able to find a god of this name in the recognised Hindu *pantheon* it has been said that, apparently an aboriginal local deity believed to exercise the greatest influence was adopted by the Kalacuris as their tutelary god in order to prevent him from doing any harm to the newcomers. It could also be another name for Śiva of whom the Kalacuris were the greatest worshippers. They belonged to a sect known as Pāśupata-*pantha*, now believed to practise a degraded form of Śaiva-worship. Vaṅkeśvara means 'the lord of the vegabonds', a title equally applicable to an aboriginal god or to Śiva as the latter is always accompanied by an army of vagabonds. Prior to the advent of the Kalacuris in the Bilaspur district the country was inhabited mostly by aborigines. It is therefore very likely that Vaṅkeśvara was adopted from their pantheon, otherwise we should have temples dedicated to that deity in the

Dāhala country, at least in the capital at Tripuri but we find no trace.

We also come across Vaṅeśvara in the Raipur Plate of Pṛthvideva I (K) yr 821 (second half of eleventh century AD). In the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva: yr 866 starts with an invocation of Śiva and there is a reference to Vaṅkeśa, and in the Amoda Plates of Pṛthvideva I.

There is a reference to Śiva as Varadā in the Kalañjara Rock Inscription of Candella dynasty of vs. 1188 (AD 1131). This epithet is found as one of the thousand epithets in the *Śivapurāṇa*.

Another unusual epithet found in one inscription of our period is Gahuṇḍa, which is supposed to be a local name or designation of Śiva. This epithet comes in the middle of the inscription. It opens with an invocation to Śiva and its purpose was to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Pāśupata ascetic. The Pāśupatas, it seems throught this evidence were definitely worshipping and thereby trying to assimilate the local divinities. This has been already mentioned in connection with other popular deities.

On the basis of the association of Śiva and Brahmā together, V.S. Pathak suggests that verse number thirty-two in the Rewah Stone Inscription of Vijayasiṃha "reveals the existence of a sect which was devoted to the worship of Śiva and Brahmā together." This is further supported by some of the Kalacuris inscriptions which pay homage to Brahmā in the beginning immediately followed by invocation to Śiva.

The trinity of gods is noticed also in Kāritalai Stone Inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja I of (K) yr 593 which in the opening verse pays obeisance to Druhina (Brahmā), Upendra (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva). Also found in the Sheorinārāyaṇa Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II and in the Pujāripali Stone Inscription of Gopāladeva, (K) yr 919 (AD 1167-68). In the fragmentary Kāritalai Stone Inscription which is the earliest official record of the Kalacuris of Tripurī, all the three members of the Brahmanic trinity Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra are revered and praised, a fact which indicates the electic spirit of the age. We find this in the Candella records also. The Rewah Copperplate Inscription of Kumārapāla of vs. 1297 (AD 1240) opens with three verses in honour of Brahmā, Puruṣottama and Tryambaka, though separately he is called a devour worshipper of Maheśvara. The Rewah Copperplate Inscription of *mahā-rāṇaka* Harirājadeva opens in a similar manner.

The Mandhāta Copperplate Grant of Devapāla (AD 1198) invokes the trinity as Kaisaḥ, Brahmā or Prajāpati and finally as Śiva and Viṣṇu combined. It was this tendency which is resulted in the production of the Trideva, Caturdeva and Pañcadeva sculptures of the Meśra school.

An unusual combination is an invocation to Kṛṣṇa and Śiva which is found in the Rewah Copperplate Inscription of the time of Trailokyavarman of the Candella dynasty.

Religious toleration is an important feature that we encounter in the inscriptions of our time. it seems that different religious sects existed side by side throughout the Kalacuri empire. Kings are sometimes referred to have followed more than one religion. The Karitalai Stone Inscription of Lakṣmaṇarājā II declares Śaṅkaragaṇa, who was devoted to Śivaism to be Paramavaiṣṇava. Further, according to the Rajim Stone

Inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II of (K) yr 896 (AD 1145) Jasananda to composer of the *praśasti* was *paramamaheśvara* and *paramavaiṣṇava*. There are instances when more than one deity is seen to be invoked in the same inscription. Thus the Kāritalai Stone Inscription opens with adoration to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in addition to the four castes. The Kasia Stone Inscription similarly opens with adoration of Buddha, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva III of (K) yr 933 (AD 1181-82) Gangādhara, the prime minister of Ratnadeva is said to have reconstructed a *maṇḍapa* of a Śiva temple, built a *maṇḍapa* of Sauri (Viṣṇu), constructed a temple of Durgā and built another temple of Tundi Gaṇapati. Here we find an instance where the same benefactor is said to have offered donations to different sects.

In the inscriptions of our time we also find certain very interesting and unusual combinations and occurrences. Every while installing a Jaina image in a temple, Śiva has been invoked. The epithet used is Candrārdhamauli and the invocation is right at the beginning of the inscription. This kind of evidence, which is not common at all, testifies to the tremendous popularity of Śiva as a cultic and probably tutelary deity. It also substantiates the feeling that there was an attempt at least for religious harmony at times. For it has been noticed that sometimes certain cultic tension must have caused the desecration of a temple or the complete takeover such as in the following case. In a place called Un in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh, we have the famous and largest temple in this area, the Chaubera Dera. A close examination of the figures in it especially on the lintels will indicate that the temple was originally a Śiva one. But today it is Jaina shrine. It is probable that the figures found in it belong to some other contemporary shrine and seemed to have been removed here at a much later data. The representation of Śiva and the *Sapta Mātṛkās* can be seen in the centre of the lintel.

Still more interesting are the cases where the followers of one particular sect are said to have been well versed in the works of other sects. The Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva I of (K) yr 866 (AD 1114) mentions that the Śaiva ascetic Rudrāraśi was well versed in the authoritative works of the other systems along with his own. In the Koni Stone Inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II of (K) yr 900 (AD 1147-48) Kasala the composer of the *praśasti* (who seems to be a Śaivite) is said to have known well the Āgamas of Buddha.

It is seen, therefore, that a wealth of information may be gleaned from the inscriptions belonging to this period. That there were several cultic religions in Madhya Pradesh, each with its defined or even semi-defined structure cannot be doubted. What would be interesting would be to locate the different class-types which must have been interested in them. There was also undeniable sectarian conflict as well as attempts at what may have been peaceful assimilation. Cults such as the Yoginī cult had a short but intensive inning whereas others like the Pāśupatas probably moved away even if with a new name, eventually to regions that may have been far more lucrative.

28
Gaṇas of Śiva

The grotesque aspect of deities and other creatures of fabulous forms had been dominating the early religious art and thought, the world over. These grotesque forms, in relation to India, have their origin in the Vedic literature, which were further developed in the post-Vedic literature to a considerable extent. While the epics and the Purāṇic literature were being written many such forms were conceived. These fabulous forms in relation to India could be placed in the following three broad categories:

(i) Those having mysterious origin like Garuḍa, Kūrma, Sarbheśa, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Nandi, Hayagriva, Matsya, Vināyaki and Narsiṁhi.
(ii) Those born out of human seed: - Gokarna, Ṛishya-Śringa, Mahishāsura.
(iii) Those acquiring grotesque forms by surgical feats: Daksha Prajāpati, Gaṇeśa.

Indeed the deities and men with grotesque forms played a dominant role in many countries of the world. In various acts or rituals, even today men often wear heads of animals, usually those of sacrificial victims. Among the savages, these are often worn at sacred dances, e.g. before hunting. Thus at the Mandan buffalo dance, each dancer wears the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns attached and imitates the movements of the animal in order to procure good hunting. Similar customs were followed among Celts and Teutons. At the New Year festival riotous processions of men dressed in the heads and skins of animals took place and these continued in Christian times, though forbidden by the Church. Figures of horse-headed men appear on old Gaulish coins and these, as well as numerous Irish legends of cat, dog, or goat headed men doubtless reflect actual customs. In modern European folk-festivals, dances are sometimes performed by men wearing antler or skulls of deer, etc., and these may be traced to older rites resembling those of Mandans. In all such customs, there had originally been some idea of assimilating the wearer of the head with the animal, and in some cases, it was connected with totemism. The same purpose was served, where a mask representing an animal's head was worn as among many savage tribes.

Where earlier, the worshipful animal tended to become anthropomorphic, or

where a divinity was blended with a worshipful animal, there was often a fusion of the two in the myth of the artistic representation. The god had some part of himself in animal form and very often possessed an animal's head. Probably in all religions, this aspect has prevailed to some extent. Some, however, were able to shake themselves entirely free of such monstrous forms, though they could still be found associated with demonic beings; in others, they continued to play an important part, as in Egyptian religion.

In India, besides many other divinities having fabulous forms, Gaṇeśa has an elephant's head, while in China a god called the "Divine Husbandsman" has a human body with a bull's head, (which could be equated with the Nandi of Hindu Mythology). In Greece, where such compound forms generally came to be disliked, traces of them could still be found. The Phigalcian Demeter had a horse's head and in Arcadia excavation representations of female figurines with heads of sheep, goats or cows have been unearthed. Figures of Pan with goat's head and Apollo (?) with a ram's head and others are also wellknown. But it is in Egypt that the method of representing the gods was most conserved from pre-historic times onwards. Some of them have indeed animal heads.

In some instances a divinity is represented wearing an animal head-dress and sometimes also the skin of the animal a custom perhaps connected with the practice of placing the head and skin of a sacrificed victim on the image of a god as well as the assimilation of a god and a worship animal. Conversely human headed divinities or genii with animal bodies occurred sporadically, *e.g.* in Babylon the fish god Oannes (Ea), Winged bull with human head; in Egypt, the Sphinx; while the soul was also represented there as a hawk with human head.

Though the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa appeared on the Indian religious scene comparatively late, but the fabulous forms in the country are of considerable antiquity. At the early stage many of such forms were enjoyed by yakshas. These according to Ram Nath Mishra, in the early art related to yaksha motifs and are found rather abundantly. In all probability such motifs were meant for illustrating the monstrosity of yakshas. They are in consonance with the belief that yakṣas if Yakṣas are to be regarded as one of the ancient forgotton tribes. Just as ancestorship expressed by various rebirth stories regarding Yakshas enriched the Yakṣa-cult, the totemistic worship might have also contributed towards the same end.

"In Indian art, various animal-headed cult deities are known, for instance, Naigmesha, Aja, Gaṇeśa, Narasiṁha and Varāha, but the earliest sculptures in art tradition, belong to Yakshas. In course of time, such representations were accepted in iconography. The *Aparājitapṛichchhā* (233.4-6) prescribes the combination of animals and birds, humans and animals or humans and birds for depiction in art."

A much earlier text, the *Lalitavistara* has more vivid and elaborate details of the countless deformities concerning the *Māraputras.* Along these *Māraputras,* an express reference to the Yakshas is also found. Some of the features occur in the Yaksha figures of the second century A.D. and these may be related to the contemporary tradition as found in the *lalitavistara.* The texts says that the *māraputra* had ears like those of donkey,

elephant, lion, and other animals; that they had fierce faces, fearful teeth, long tongue, black and angry eyes; their bodies were of different hues, *e.g.*, flaming yellow, black, blue or blood red. Some of the *Māraputras* looked emanciated, while others were potbellied. Some of them had short limbs, and faces of some resembled those of jackal, donkey, bull, camel, buffalo, śarabha and other animals. Some *Māraputras* had a single head, others had many, some had their feet above and head below; their hair were like those of ass, boar, goat, cat, monkey and the like; there were some *Māraputras* who had their hair like needless. Some of them had a composite body (*anya mukhāni cha anya śarīra*). The description covers a large number of deformities, while presenting their-anthoropomorphic types conceived in relation to *Māraputras* which included Yakshas also.

"The motif of theri-anthropomorphic Yaksha came into existence in the second century B.C. and is seen at Barhut, Bodhgaya, and Pitalkhora. Mathura region has also provided similar figures of the same period. One such representation on the medallion of a railing pillar shows a human head attached to the body of a frog. The corresponding other side of the pillar carries the depiction of a lotus flower, which indicates that both these representations were meant for decorative purpose. This piece is in the State Museum, Lucknow. Another medallion in the Mathura Museum portrays a nude Vyāla-yaksha, upper-half man and lower half serpent. His ears are like those of a bull. Serpent's mouth is unrealistic. A cross-bar (No. 3513) in the Mathura Museum is carved with the motif Gokarṇa-Yaksha on both sides. The State Museum, Lucknow, however, has a statuette representing a figure of two armed Gomukha-Yakṣa with his right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left hand akimbo, kept on the waist. The horns (partly broken), big eyes and snout with tongue are clear in the figure. The image stylistically seems to belong to the Kushana period. In another relief from Mathura (No. 323 Saptarishi mound) a fish-tailed Gokarṇa-Yakṣa finds portrayed and the nudity here is concealed by a big lead..."

An elephant headed male and female Yakṣa are also known. One such figure has been mentioned by Coomaraswamy. Another representation of the Kuṣāṇa period containing a band with five such figures, has been described thus:

> Bas-relief(12"x2'.3") carved with three horizontal bands. The top most one shows a typical Buddhist railing with seven pilasters, each pair fitted with two crossbars between them. The second band consists of six horse-shoe arches, each between two dwarft pillars and each containing the bust of a worshipper with garland. In the third band are five elephant-headed Yakshas, showing the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa figure in Mathura art, perhaps an offshoot of Kubera iconography. Examples of similar elephant headed *gaṇa* or *yaksha* figures are found at Amaravati.

The Mathura Museum has recently acquired an elephant headed figure, which has on the reverse a line sketch of a grinning yaksha. The ancient site of Riarh has yielded a small terracotta plaque with an elephant shaped yakshini.

Gaṇeśa in the texts has been endowed with the exalted position of the *Gaṇas* of Śiva, earning him the little of Gaṇanāyaka. These *Gaṇas* of Śiva represented an initial idea of Vedic Rudra who was conceived to be originally one, having been endowed with the

powers of multiplying himself into innumerable forms. Parallel to these *Gaṇas* were the asuric forces, who too at times, were endowed with features identical with those of the *Gaṇas* of Śiva. These *Gaṇas* and the forces of *asuras* or *rākshas* have been variously described in the texts. The *Rāmāyaṇa* or Vālmiki, one of the great epics of India, though is not so vocal about the *Gaṇas* of Śiva, but has provided an impressive account of the grotesque forms of *asura* army in Laṅkā. Rāma deputed Hanumāna to Laṅkā in search of Sitā. The monkey god after crossing the vast ocean reached the Capital of Rāvaṇa and observed numerous hybrid forms engaged on military duty in Laṅkā, which have been impressively described.

In the centre of Laṅkā, there were a number of spies of Rāvaṇa. Of those, some appeared like yogis, some with long locks of hair, some were clean shaven, some wearing animal hide, some naked or half naked, some holding a bunch of *Kuśa* grass as a weapon, to some fire alter served as a weapon, some held club or staff as weapons. Some had only one eye, some had varied types of costumes, some had big bellies and some short, some were terrific, some had deformed faces, some were crude and some dwarfs. Some had bow, sword, *Śatāgni* and *mūsala* as weapons. Some had clubs and were decorated with *Kavachas*. Some were not too fat, lean, of height or dwarfish, fair complexioned, or dark and having birch-bark. Some of them were ugly, some could change forms at will. Some were quite good looking and possessed hammers and other weapons.

Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara Kāṇḍaṁ, 4.15-20

The other epic, the *Mahābhārata*, however, has been quite vocal about the grotesque forms of Śiva's *Gaṇas*. In the *Purāṇas*, however, the subject of Śiva's *Gaṇas* has been quite tastefully discussed. Of these Puraṇic accounts, the one provided by the *Matsya Purāṇa*, is quite vocal. In this account Śiva himself is said to have declared that the *Gaṇas*, moving playfully around him on the Kailāśa mountain are dear to him and represent his own form. An interesting list of the grotesque and dwarfish forms and of fabulous features with heads of birds and animals, some tall and some stunted, some lean and other corpulent, some wearing silken clothes and others nude-these are numerous manifestations of Śiva's *Gaṇas*. The meaning is transparent. Each individual is nothing else but a *Gaṇa* of Śiva. The art motif of Śiva's *Gaṇas* became quite popular in the Gupta period. It was considered to be quite auspicious, and given a prominent place to decorate the temple friezes. A large number of them have been found in the Śiva temple at Bhumra. There, they have been depicted in playful poses, and each one of them is conceived to be the prototype or a child of Śiva and known as *Mānava Krīḍita*, *Kumāra Krīḍitaka* and *Bālakrīḍa*. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, however described them thus:

Dakṣa became the progenitor of a most queer race. Among his children some were bipeds, some had more feet, some had long ears, and some broad ones, some had features resembling those of a horse, the bear, the lion, the dog, the boar or the camel. On seeing such a vast multitude of his progeny, Daksha created a large number of women.

Matsya Purāṇa, 4.52-53

The same text subsequently, describes the *Gaṇas* of Śiva thus:

Some of them were lean others corpulent, some tall others short, others with

protruding bellies, having their faces resembling those of tigers, lions and elephants. Some of them were like sheep and goats. Some had variegated features, some were blazing like fire, some were dark, others yellow. Some were gentle, others grim. Some were of smiling disposition, some had black and some brown hair. Some were like birds in appearance, some had faces like those of the various kinds of animals or deer. Some were dressed in the *Kuśa* fibres and skins'; some were naked and some of deformed appearance; some with their ears like those of cows. Some had ears like those of elephants, many of them had many faces, many eyes, many bellies, many hands and many feet.

Matsya Purāṇa, 154. 531-36

The same text describes the demons with varied types of appearances, thus:

The hoard of demons had various appearances like that of an ass, an alligator, fish, serpent, deer, swine, rising sun, comets, crescent, swan, blazing fire, cock, lion, with mouth wide open, crow, vulture, jackal, meteors, some having two tongues, others had faces like sparks, while some of them looked like the mountains.

Matsya Purāṇa, 163. 1-4

Besides the description of Śiva's *Gaṇas*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* has described Gaṇeśa, who also has the grotesque form, thus

The face of Gaṇeśa should have the trunk of an elephant, with three eyes four arms, huge belly, ears like those of an elephant, wearing a sacred thread of a snake, one large and long tusk, holding with his right hand a lotus and above a ball of sweet; with his left hand a battle axe and a ball is the possessor of Ṛiddhi and Siddhi.

Matsya Purāṇa, 260. 52-55

The Śiva's *Gaṇas* have also been described by other texts as well, like the *Brahma Purāṇa, Vāyu Purāṇa, Harivaṁśa, Liṅga* and *Vishṇudharmottara*.

In a recent article on the man-animal relationship, Iqbal Malik has observed thus:—

"Most Hindu gods and goddesses have animal transports or companions assigned to them. While Vishṇu rides a kite and Shakti a tiger, the Shaivaites seem to have an interesting trio of animals to worship. Interesting that is form the biologists' point of view, for Śiva the destroyer is adorned and permanently associated with serpents. Mythology tells us that Śiva had two sons, the human formed Muruga (Shanda Kārttikēyas) and the elephant-god Gaṇeśa. Muruga rides on a peacock and the mighty elephant god is transported around by a mouse. Biologically stupendous, for in the natural world the serpent is the natural predator of the mouse and the peacock of the snakes. A biological food chain

exists in a single human mythological family and has been worshipped for ages without being discovered. It could be nothing significant, of course, and might be a coincidence of sorts. But one might hope, taking into consideration the wisdom of the ancients and the fact that there is little reason for deifying mouse and that too as a transport for an elephant god, that there was a rationale to this assignment. Could they not have been a symbolisation of undisturbed nature at work? Predator and prey living unhampered in the same ecosystem and carrying over their functions independently. Cogs in the wheel is all important, whether it be the georgeous peacock or the insignificant mouse ?"

"Through the course of centuries, man's attitude towards animals has changed many a time. Adoration, indifference, deification and hatred have all had their place in it. The sacred cat of the Egyptians turned Sorcerer and unlucky in the Middle Ages. A deity to one civilisation was a witch to the other and a more contemporary one. But whatever be the terms of association animals have been a vital part of the yeas of life that man has spent on earth."

It was not actually the animals alone with which the varied types of behaviour or relationship prevailed in the contemporary society of by gone days, but even the deities had to face the same. Gaṇeśa indeed was revered by the Brahmanical and Jaina faiths, but in Buddhism, even though for a short duration, he was to face humiliating situations, having been trampled upon by the Buddhist deities like Aparājitā, Mahākāla and Vighnāntaka.

29
The God of Bhakti

God as the efficient cause of all beings

Arulnanti, following his Guru, Meykaṇṭa, considers God as the efficient cause of all beings. The general theory of causality according to the *Cittiyār* is simple and clear enough. The effect has to be really existent in the cause (*karuti Kāriyamum uṇṭāy*) and nothing can originate out of nothing; for if one were to deny this, namely that the world is produced from and resolved into a cause (*māyai*), it would be the same as affirming the existence of a hares̄ horn (1.15). The *Siddhānta* theory of causality is called *satkāryavāda*, distinguished from the *vivartavāda* (the theory of false appearance, like a mirage) and the *pariṇāmavāda* (the theory of transformation). Cause in general is divided by the Siddhāntin into three kinds, which alone can render an effect adequately intelligible: material cause (*mutual*), instrumental cause (*tuṇai*), and efficienet cause (*nimittam*). Let us take for example a mud pot. Clay is its material cause, the wheel its instrumental cause, and the potter its efficient cause. It is the change of a thing from the causal state to that of an effect that necessitates an efficient cause (*tōrramum karuttāvālām*, 1.7). Similarly, the Lord is the efficient cause of the world and of souls, *māyai* its material cause, and his *Śakti* its instrumental cause (1.18).

The purpose of creation and dissolution is to liberate souls from the impurity of *āṇavam* (1.32). Rebirth alone affords opportunity for the soul to wash off its inherent impurity by eating the fruits of *karma*, and through God's grace to attain to his feet. God performs his five functions for the same purpose of freeing souls from the triple impurity and of imparting final bliss (*putti mutti valaṅkavum aruḷān...malaṅkaḷ...tuṭaippavum*) (1.36).

The Nature of God

God has form (*uruvam*), no form (*aruvam*), and formless form (*uruvārūpam*) (1.38). He assumes forms as he wills, just as Siddhās do (*yōka cittarpōl uru icaippan*) (1.39). Since he bestows on souls knowledge and power, his form consists of the products not of *māyai* but of *Śakti* (1.41). God, free from *āṇavam*, is pure absolute intelligence (1.42). His forms are not subject to evolution or change, for they are immaterial he is not even one of the six *adhvas* (formless material things) (1.42).

God is not one of the objects subject to bonds and release (1.44). He has neither beginning nor end; he is infinite. It cannot be said that he is only 'this' and 'that', or that he can become this and that. It is impossible to understand his nature by anything we see in this world (*cīlamo ulakam pōlat terippa aritu*) (1.30). He has no such defect as is implied in being perceived as an object of empirical knowledge (*kurittat onrāka māṭṭāk kuraiv ilan*). He has no likes or dislikes. He can assume any form out of his grace (*ninainta mēni ninmalan aruḷināl*) (1.45). Why should he assume forms, since he can effect whatever he wants by his mere will ? Because otherwise there would be no one to reveal the Vedas and the Āgamas; otherwise, too, there would be no possibility of imparting instruction in the form of a Guru's teaching, and consequently no one to secure final release from the fettered state (1.45). God acts in accordance with nature of the fettered soul, and so has to appear in human form to lead the soul to liberation. Moreover, given the unknowability by the human intellect of his supreme nature, he has to be accessible to it in manifold forms by means of his *Śakti*.

Aruḷnanti conceives of God's nature as love and grace (*uruv aruḷ*); his attributes and knowledge are grace (*kuṇaṅkaḷōṭum uṇarv aruḷ*); all his functions are grace; his external bodily forms are all manifestation of his grace. He is infinite Light, Love, and Intelligence (*aḷavil cōtiy aruḷ ñāna mūrttiyāy*); he fills all intelligence with his love (*arivinil aruḷān manni*). And he manifests this form of grace and love in order to redeem souls (1.46). This grace is at first hidden from fettered souls. They do not know that his form transcends the universe (*ulakinai irantu ninratu aran uru enpat ōrār*); they donot realize that the universe originates, and is dissolved, in his form (*ulakavan uruvil tōnri oṭuṅkiṭum enrum ōrār*); they are also unaware of the fact that he is the life (*uyir*) of the world and dwells in it; ignorant of his supreme form they name him by one of the forms of this *world* (*ulakinil oruvan enpar uruvinai uṇarār*) (1.48). They know not that his exterior forms, manifold and opposed to one another, only show that he transcends, and is not of, this world; nor do they see that these forms are the actions of his all-powerful grace (*av vēṭam ellām aruḷ puri tolil enr orār*); that his destructive function is to destroy *karma* (*konratu vinaiyaik konru*) (1.51).

Unless the Supreme Being assumes bodily forms (*mēni toṭakkānēl*), we cannot grasp the meaning of his fivefold activity: creation, sustenance, dissolution, the gift of grace to his *bhaktas*, and final release (1.54). Hence he assumes a manifest form (*uru mēni*), an unmanifest form (*aru mēni*), and a manifest-unmanifest form (*aru uruvat tirumēni*) (1.55). The first belongs to the *sakala* or *apara* state, as the world manifests itself in various forms; the second to the *niṣkala* or *para* state, as the world disappears into the subtle state of dissolution; and the third to be *sakala-niṣkala* or *parāpara* state, as the world begins to reappear.

In accordance with the various functions God performs with respect to the world, his *Śakti* assumes different name and form. Thus in the *niṣkala* state when God is Knowledge (*jñāna*), he is called Śiva (*ñānamē ānapōtu civan*); and when he is action (*kriyā*), he is called *Śakti* (*tolil ñānam, i.e. catti*). In the *niṣkala-sakala* state when knowledge and action are equally balanced, he is called Sadāśivam. In the *sakal* state while action

predominates, he is named Maheśvara (*tolilatu ērin pērican*); and while knowledge predominates, he is *Vittai* or *Vidyā* (*kiriyai ūnamēl vittai*) (1.65). Just as the unchanging crystal apears as many, when colours reflect on it, so God, ever remaining the same, changeless and pure, manifests himself in his various forms of *Śakti* (1.68).

Even though Brahmā is the creator and Viṣṇu the preserver, these gods cannot perform their functions except through the instrumentality of Śiva's *Śakti*, it is Śiva who makes them carry out their respective functions (1.60). For the power of Brahmā and Viṣṇu is limited, since they cannot rise above the plane of *prakṛti;* Rudra and Maheśvara cannot have influence in what is above the plane of *aśuddha māyā*? Śiva alone, the all-powerful and all-knowing, can cause the cycle of the world's coming into being and disappearing, in all its entirety.

Although *Śakti* takes many forms, it is not many but one (*cattitān palavō ennil tān onrē*). It only appears as many because of its manifestation in many effects (*anēkamāka vaittiṭum kāriyattān*) (1.61). *Śakti's* nature is pure intelligence (*cattitan vaṭiv ētennil...Śñanamākum*). The Supreme Will (*iccai*) and action (*ceyti*) are also included in the supreme *Śakti*, since where there is intelligence, there is also will and power of action (*ettiram ñānam uḷḷat attiram iccai ceyti*) (1.62). The one and unique *parācatti* becomes threefold: *iccācatti, ñānacatti,* and *kiriyācatti. Iccācatti* is the love that God lavishes on souls (*iccai uyirkkaruḷ nēcamākum*). *Ñānaccati* is that by which he knows all perfectly (*ñānacattiyān nanru ellām nayantu arivan*). *Kiriyācatti* conducts the whole universe according to his plan (*aruṭ kiriyai tannāl...akilam ellām nātan ākkuvan*) (1.63).

The relationship that Śiva bears to his Śakti is proposed in an interesting manner that can stimulate deep theological reflections, especially so because of its resemblance to the Christian theology of the *Logos*. Śiva begets *Śakti* (*civam cattitannai inrum*) and *Śakti* begets Śiva (*cattitān civattai inrum*). Both Śiva and *Śakti* in their happy union produce the world and souls (*uvantu iruvarum puṇarntu iṅku ulaku uyir ellām inrum*). Still, Śiva is a *brahmacārin* (caste one), and the sweet-speeched *Śakti* remains ever a virgin (*pavan piramacāri ākum, pānmoli kanniyākum*). It is only true *bhaktas* who can comprehend this mystery (2.77).

Hara's *Śakti* is in the form of grace and love (*aruḷatu aran tanakkuv cattiyākum*). There is no Śiva but for the Supreme Love and grace (*aruḷai inrit teruḷ vicam illai*); and without Śiva there is no *Śakti* (*civam inric catti illai*). As the sun dispels by its light and darkness that shrouds the eyes, so God removes the illusion of souls with his grace and grants them final bliss (*mannuyirkku maruḷinai aruḷāl vāṭṭi aḷippan īcan*) (5.9).

The Relation of God to other beings

God is one with the universe (*ulak elām āki*) and is yet different (*vērāy* (2.1). This conception of the relationship between God and the universe is, according to the Siddhāntins, *advaita* (non-dual). It is interesting to note that both Meykaṇṭa and Aruḷnanti understand *advaita* in the sense of *ananya* (not-different; see the *Śivañānapōtam*, 7.12: *anniyam ilān*, 'he is not different'). The *Śivañāna Cittiyār* often makes use of this expression: *ananniyamāka aruḷinālē kāṇpan*, through grace he will know as non-different (6.6); *īcan anniyam illāmaiyānum*, because the Lord is not different (6.8); *aṇaintālum onṛākāta ananniyamāy*

irukkum, even in union (*i.e.* in the mystical union) without becoming one remains non-different (11.11).

The concept of *ananyatvam* in the Sanskrit philosophy texts has a complex meaning. Literally it means 'non-distinction'. The word has been used already in the *Kaṭha* Upaniṣad (1.2.8):

na nareṇa-avareṇa prokta eṣa
suvijñeyo bahudhā cintyamānaḥ;
ananya-prokte gatir atra nāsti,
aṇīyān hy atarkyam aṇupramāṇāt.

Not taught by an ordinary man can he
be truly understood, though much considered;
save by another taught there is no way thither,
for he is inconceivably subtler than the subtle.

Śaṅkara takes *ananya-prokten* as meaning 'taught by one who is non-different', *i.e.* who has realized his oneness with *Brahman*. Then, 'there is no way thither' menas for him, 'there is no way beyond *Brahman*', *i.e.* there is no further *saṁsāra*.

Ananyatvam is used in the *Vedānta Sūtra* (2.1.14) to denote the relation between *Brahman* and the world: *tad ananyatvam ārambhaṇa-śabdādibhyaḥ*. The non-difference of them (cause and effect) (results) from such terms as 'origin' and the like.

The context of this passage is the objection that if the world as a whole comes into being from *Brahman*, then *Brahman*, being one and homogeneous, cannot account fully for the world, with its antithesis of subject and object (*bhoktṛ-bhogya-vibhāga*). In order to meet this objection Bādarāyana maintains that *Brahman* and the world stand to each other in the relation of *ananyatvam*. Scholars are of opinion that the held he *bhedābheda* view. Śaṅkara comments on the *Sūtra* text as follows: the entire body of effects has no existence apart from *Brahman* (*brahma-vyatirekeṇa kāryajātasyābhāva iti gamyate*). He therefore understands *ananyatvam* in the sense of *vyatirekeṇa abbāvaḥ* (non-existence apart from); that is to say, the relation is not a real one because the world does not actually emanate from *Brahman* but is only a phenomenal appearance (*vivartavāda*).

How *ananyatvam* is understood within the range of the *Vedānta* can be gathered from an important passage of Śaṅkara's *Upadeśasāhasrī?*

saṁsāri ca sa ity eka ābhāso yas tv ahaṁkṛti
vastucchāyā smṛter anyan mādhuryādi ca kāraṇam
jñāaikadeśo vikāro vā tadābhāsāśrayaḥ pare
ahaṁkartaiva saṁsārī svatantra iti kecana. (18.34-5)

And some (believe) that the transmigrating self (*saṁsārin*) is just the reflection (of the supreme Self) in egoism (*ahaṁkāra*); i.e. it is a real shadow on account of the *Smṛti*, and another reason (for its reality) is its pleasantness, etc. (34). According to others it is a part of the (supreme) Self or (its) modification, (or) the transmi-

grating soul (*saṁsārin*) is just egoism (*ahaṁkāra*), which forms the substratum for its (the supreme Self's) reflection, (and) some (take the individual self) as self-dependent. (35)

There are five different statements in this passage on the relation of the individual self to the supreme Self. The last statement in verse 35, which takes the individual self as independent (*svatantra*), is outside the scope of *ananyatvam* and hence does not concern us here. The four other views described in the above passage maintain the real existence of the individual self, either as a real reflection of *Brahman* in the *ahaṁkāra* (34), or as a part, a modification, or the *ahaṁkāra* itself, which forms the substratum for the reflection of *Brahman*. They militate against Śaṅkara's own view that the individual self is but a product of *avidyā* through the adjuncts (*upādhi*). Vācaspati makes his mind unmistakably clear when he says that what is meant by *anmanyatvam* is not the affirmation of the absolute oneness of *Brahman* and the world, but only the negation of their separateness (*na khaly ananyatvam iti abhedaṁ brūmaḥ, kiṁ tu bhedaṁ vyāsedhāmaḥ; Bhāmatī*, 2.1.14). The relation is, he says, neither *bheda*, nor *abheda*, nor *bhedābheda*, but *durnirupa* (hard to determine). Bhartṛprapañca (who commented on the *Vedānta Sūtra* before Śaṅkara) and Bhāskara (after Śaṅkara take *ananyatvam* in the sense of *bhedābheda* relation. The latter observes in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra: kārya-rūpeṇa nāmātvan abhedaḥ kāraṇātmanā hemātmanā yathābhedaḥ kuṇḍalādyātmanā bhidā.*

The *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* takes *ananyatvam* to mean the relation of *smavāya* between things that are inseparable. Kumārila understands it in the sense of *bhedābheda*. Rāmānuja postulates the relation of *apṛthak-siddhi* or 'inseparability', as for instance between body and soul, in order to inerpret *ananyatvam* of the *Vedānta Sūtra* (his *Bhāṣya*, 11.2.12). A Śaivite commentator (Nilakaṇṭa Śivācārya), in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta Sūtra* (11.1.22). observes that *advaita* signifies *ananyavāda*, which means non-differene between body and soul or substance and attribute, or between God and soul; and that *advaita* does not mean *bhedābheda* (of the type of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita*), nor *bheda* as between pot and cloth, nor absolute *abheda* as between mother of pearl and silver, one of them being illusory. The world cannot exist apart from God; it is inseparable, and inasmuch as the two are inseparably united they may be said to be one. Thus *Brahman* is said to be one with the soul though the two are distinct from each other.

We have analysed the concept of *nanyatvam* at some length, because it is central to the religious philosophy of India, and essential to a better understanding of the relation between God and creatures, and of the notion of *bhakti* itself. In the light of this exposition of the concept of *nanyatvam* the Siddhāntin's position becomes clearer. He distinguishes his doctrine from those of others. His *advaita* or *ananyatvam* is not *bheda*, which implies difference as between light and darkness; not *abheda*, which implies oneness as between gold and ornament; or *bhedābheda; i.e.* difference and non-difference, as between words and meaning. Still he admits *bheda* as between the eye and the sun in the act of seeing, *abheda* as between soul and body, and *bhedābheda* as between the soul and eyesight. The best analogies he uses to support his theory are those of soul and body, vowels and

consonants, and he calls this type of relationship *tādātmya*. Here again we have to make a further distinction; Śivajñāna Yogin distinguishes two kinds of *tādātmya:* (a) One thing appears as two; this is *tādātmya* proper, and has the same sense as Śaṅkara's *advaita.* (b) Two things become one by union (*atu atu ātal*); the Siddhāntin understands the term in this way.

In brief, the concept of *ananyatvam* in the *Śaiva Siddhānta* implies that the Lord is united with the individual soul as soul with body; souls cannot be identical with God, nor can God be the same as souls; he is one with, and yet different from, them (*ivai tānāyum vērumāy*) (2.3). When the *Śruti* texts proclaim oneness without the second, it only means that there is but one Lord (*patitān onru*) (2.2).

30
God in Śaiva Siddhāntin

Of the various proofs offered by the Śaiva Siddhāntin for the existence of God, the chief one is the cosmological. This is based on the reality of the world; and since the truth of the argument depends on whether it is based on valid grounds, it becomes necessary to examine his proof of the reality of the world.

Though the Siddhāntin considers the senses as delusive in the sense that they misrepresent the value of the objects of the world to the soul, so that the seeming desirable objects are really undesirable for its welfare, yet he does not consider them delusive in the sense of representing as existing what really do not exist. So, normally, things perceived through the senses exist. Accordingly, the seen world of he, she and it exists. But can it exist as the senses reveal it to us? As perceived through them, objects seem to be outside us and to be tangible with solidity and extension. It is strange that the Siddhāntin fails to note any inconsistency between this realistic view and the idealistic tendency towards which he inclines when he says that it is the qualities that constitute the thinghood of objects. Further, the Siddhāntin cannot consider the reality of the world to be established on the evidence of the senses.

He seeks to fortify his conclusion regarding the reality of the world by the further line of reasoning that what is unreal, such as the horns of a hare, never comes into existence in the past, present or future. The world, however, has origin, and therefore, it is real. The reality of the world, in this argument is based on the empirical assumption that the world has origin. In making this assumption, the Siddhāntin has to consider a point raised by his opponent, the Lōkāyata, who maintains that though we see particular objects come into existence and disappear, we do not see origin and dissolution taking place of the whole. All have we can see is the world existing. We do not witness its origin and decay. Hence, these latter processes as applying to the world are mere fabrications of the mind. No doubt, as the Siddhāntin points out, there are seasons when things come into being as a class, and are destroyed likewise. However, to argue that as particular sets of things come to be and cease to be, the world as a whole similarly comes into existence and is destroyed, is to commit the fallacy of composition.

On the other hand, it cannot be said that as the whole world is not perceived to come into being, and die, therefore, there is no origin and decay of the world. The non-

perception of anything is no proof of its non-existence. The utmost that the Lōkāyata can say one the matter is that the origin and decay of the world as a whole cannot be established through perception. The Siddhāntin's attempt to establish these cosmic processes through inference involves as already noticed the fallacy of composition. As they are not established through any other means either, the origin of the world remains a mere assumption; and this is considered to guarantee the reality of the world. Thus neither of the two arguments used by the Siddhāntin to prove the reality of the world is convincing, so that this unproved assumption forms the basis of his cosmological argument.

This argument maintains that the different entities, classifiable as he, she and it, must have a creator who is omnipotent and omniscient, for they are diverse and finite and are subject to the three processes of creation, preservation and destruction. Attention is here drawn to their diversity, their finitude and their being to the three processes of creation, preservation and destruction, on account of which they need a supreme being to account for them. Of the three circumstances of diversity, finitude and change, it is the last that is emphasised more than the others. The world is of such a nature that it arises, continues for a time and perished; and the same cycle of events is repeated again and again. It is non-existent; for it were it would never come into being; and no creator would be needed. The existent need no come into being, and no creator would be needed. The world does not come under this category either. It is, as it were, existent and non-existent, though not in the same sense, for this would be to attribute contradictory qualities of the same substance. It is existent in the sense that Māyā, being eternal, exists always, and non-existent in the sense that at the time of world-resolution, the world of forms ceases to be until the time of world origin when it springs into being again. The world being of this intermediate nature so that it passes through different conditions at different intervals, it needs a conserving cause that will sustain it though its varying phases.

The diversity and finitude observed in the world are considered as the other aspects of the universe which, besides its cosmic processes, necessitate a creator. The diversity and finitude seem to offer a double-edged proof for the existence of God. Firstly, they are considered to confirm the cosmic processes which in their turn as already seen are regarded as necessitating the existence of God. Secondly, their diversity and their finitude seem explicable only in the light of an ultimate cause. Anything characterised by diversity has parts; and having parts, it is destructible, *e.g.*, a pot or an atom, each of which having, parts is destructible. And anything having parts, must find its explanation in something ultimate, as the pot and the atom find their explanation at least so far their material causation is concerned, in māyā. Anything finite again, loses itself into that from which it arose, as the atom passes into māyā. The contingent requires something other than the contingent to explain it, for even if behind the contingent, there is something of like nature, there is no finality of explanation. Hence, turning away from this infinite regress, the Siddhāntin says that the various stages of resolution of the cosmos come to a stop at a certain point.

The halting point is not prakṛti as Pāñcarātri claims, for, according to the

Siddhāntin, *mūla-prakrti* itself being an evolute, the proces of resolution has to continue until all material things are converted into māyā, which during the time of praḷaya abides in Śiva, as a seed is embedded in the earth. Śiva, the solitary figure surviving the world-resolution, is the only possible creator of the universe. By way of forestalling infinite regress, the Siddhāntin maintains that as a pot can only be re-made from the clay into which it is dis-integrated on breaking, so the world can only arise from the God of saṃhāra, into whom it was resolved at the period of saṃhāra. There are certain important points of difference between God and the world to account for God being recognised as the ultimate author of the world-creation. Whereas the world of souls and of matter is dependent, God is independent, and whereas the universe is finite, God is infinite. The argument that, as a car is made by several workers, the universe can be thought to have several authors, cannot be accepted, for though the car is wrought by several hands, the unity of design of the car calls for a master mind, who supervises the work to see that his employees execute his plain.

Similarly, the unity underlying the universe can only be explained in the light of one supreme designer. Moreover, the creation of this marvellous universe requires such skill and wisdom that the maker of it can be nothing less than a being supreme, omniscient and independent, and consequently without a rival. Thus avoiding the endless pursuit of a being that confers grace on one, and of the one that confers grace on that other and so on, the Siddhāntin comes to rest in an ultimate cause. But in avoiding infinite regress, the Siddhāntin comes to maintain the concept of an uncaused cause, which as will be shown later, is not without inconsistencies.

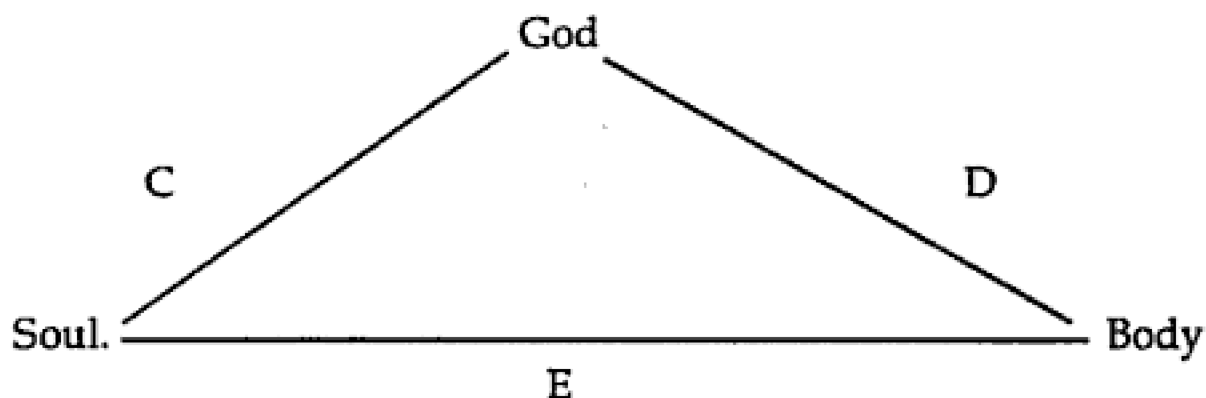
In meeting the atheistic doctrine of the Sāṅkhya that the world arises out of the cosmic matter, develops and resolves itself into its primal stuff without outside help, and that God is superfluous to carry out these processes, the Siddhāntin sets forth another of his proofs for the existence of God. Things arising from a material cause must have an instrumental cause. A pot that is made of clay, cannot come into being without a potter; likewise, the world which is of a similar nature, in that it arises from māyā, has a creator. The reason why the Siddhāntin cannot conceive of māyā developing itself into the universe is that though eternal, it is inert, and hence cannot evolve of itself. Therefore, he argues for the creation of the world by God on the analogy of the pot by the potter. To say that as particular things in the world have their respective authors, so that world as a whole should have its maker is to commit the fallacy of composition. Further, as the potter, though well-versed in the art of potmaking, does not know all about the pot, such as for instance, who will buy it, or for what purpose it will be used, and as he is not omnipotent either, and hence unable to control the pot in every way, so God though able to create the world, may neither know other facts regarding it, nor be able to control it in every way, and hence cannot be considered omniscient or omnipotent.

The Siddhāntin's next argument also is levelled against the Sāṅkhya system, which attributes the development of the world to *prakṛti,* getting the stimulus needed to set it in motion from the proximity to puruṣa. According to the Siddhāntin, it is intelligent being that is wanted for the creation of the world; and puruṣa is able to exercise its

intelligence only when in conjunction with the sense organs etc.; and at the time when the world is about to come into existence, the soul if not equipped with these. Māyā by itself cannot evolve into the world as it is not intelligent. Hence, it is only God that can create the world. This argument is exposed to all the difficulties which the concept of creation involves; and which will be examined later.

The Siddhāntin further says that in order that souls may be given a chance to rid themselves of māla, the world is brought into existence. For this purpose, it is necessary that souls shouls have bodies, to enable them to have the various experiences that fall to their lot. At the time of resolution, solus are bodiless; but at the time of evolution, they should be embodied. This linking of the soul with its appropriate body can be accomplished neither by the soul, which is inert. Yet it is a fact that souls come to have bodies they have merited; and if neither souls nor bodies are responsible for this, the only other alternative is that God brings about the union.

This argument that God must exist as it is only He that can bring together body and soul is not above criticism. For besides what will be noticed later, that the relation between body and soul is not clear, there is the added difficulty of God's relation to the body on the one hand, and His relation to the soul on the other. Here are three terms God, soul and body that have to be brought into inter-relation with each other. Investigation of the matter leads one to see that the bringing together of two or more terms is ultimately unintelligible. The relations are either attributes of the terms to be related or they are independent. If they are attributes of the terms, they either make a differene to the terms or not. According to the former alternative, the terms to be related, namely God, soul and body undergo change by virtue of the relations linking them; and according to the latter alternative, there seems not point in the relations existing. If, however, instead of being attributes of the terms, the relations are independent, then in follows that besides the terms God, soul and body, we have these relations, C, D and E. the situation is somewhat as follows:



How can relation C unite God and Soul? If it requires the aid of another relation C_1, to link itself to God and soul, then C_1 itself would require still another relation C_2 and so on *ad infinitum*. As will be noticed later, the Siddhāntin's contention that by means of *cit-śakt*i God operates on souls and bodies only increases the difficulty by increasing the number of terms to be related.

God is required not only to give appropriate bodies to souls, but also to mete out

to them the fruits of their *karma*. The Siddhāntin considers every shade of thought presented by his opponents with a view to make *karma* act without the control of God, thus rendering Him superfluous. The suggestion that *karma* can leave its traces in the mind of the doer, and thus be carried over into the next birth, is rejected as absurd. In that case, heaven, heel and earth experienced by souls could be ensured continuity in the minds of the souls concerned. The Siddhāntin's point is that the souls are subject to limitations so that it is impossible for them to be considered the guardians of *karma*. The gift and giver all perish, and only God, the eternal knower, can control karma. To say that karma can do without the help of even souls and function by its own power, as an arrow travels of itself, is to lose sight of an agent who controls karma, even as in speaking of the arrow speeding by itself, one loses sight of the archer who shot the arrow. Karma, being non-intelligent, canot be the cause of the manifold joys and sorrows which the soul experiences. Behind *Karma* must stand a further cause, and surely an intelligent cause, which decides what is good and bad, observes deeds of the souls, and finally sees to it that souls experience the fruit of their deeds. Only god can be the guardian and executor of the law of Karma as He knows everything and possesses the powers in question.

The denial of the existence of God, and the acceptance of some other entity as guardian and executor of Karma leads to great difficulties, as is shown in the refutation of the Buddhist, who claiming that Buddha practised virtue and vice before writing out the Piṭakas, is required to explain who set up norms of virtue and vice before Buddha. This of course leads, to endless regress.

God must exist as He alone has all the requirements needed for the working of karma. It is Karma that forms the basis of God's existence in this argument. Examining karma, we find that neither for its existence nor for its nature, is it indebted to God. If, as will be shown in the chapter on matter, God is responsible neither for the existence of karma, nor for its laws, then the same objection may be raised to the Siddhāntin's God that the Siddhāntin himself raised in connection with Buddha, namely, that as Buddha, who is said to have practised virtue and vice would require some one to set up norms for him, so would Śiva, who works with karma require that some one should determine its nature, as Karma, being eternal, does not depend on Him for its existence; and if its existence does not depend on Him, neither can its nature depend on Him, as attributes cannot be independent of the substance. The being that is the executor of the law of Karma canot be God if He is nto responsible for the being and nature of Karma. As executor of the law karma cannot be God if He is not responsible for the being and nature of Karma. As executor of the law of karma, He may have all the requirements for the working of Karma, yet in not being responsible for the being and nature of Karma, He cannot be the supreme God. The argument that God must exist as it is only He that has all the requirements needed for the working of Karma, does not establish the existence of a supreme being, which is what we mean by God.

The creatorship of God does not amount to anything considerable in the Siddhānta system. Alongwith God who is eternal, there are two other entities also eternal, and these are souls and matter. These do not owe their existence to God. Consequently, His status

is that of designer or architect with given material, and not that of an absolute creator responsible for the form and matter of the universe. Of course, to make to existence of souls and matter thus independent of God precludes such knotty problems as how the material world can arise from God, who is pure spirit, and how created souls can have eternal existence. Though these difficulties are avoided, there are others which cannot be satisfactorily met by the Siddhāntin. If matter exists prior to God's creative activity, is it impossible to posit the independent existence of objects? May not the world as a whole be eternal? If it be said that the existence of purpose which underlies the universe, necessitates intelligence to guide and shape the universe, meta-physical inquiry does not cease at this point. The further question arises: If God exists, who created Him?

Reviewing in mind the arguments of the Siddhāntin for the existence of God, and the difficulties which they have to face, the fact that impresses itself on one's mind is that no argument can prove the existence of God. If we think of Him as creator, we find that the concept of creatorship is open to many difficulties. It at first God alone existed and from Him the world took its rise, the difficulty arises as to how God, who is always conceived of a pure spirit, can produce from Him a material world. If to avoid this difficulty, it is said that along with God, matter too exists, and God operates on this, then arises the problem of how spirit can act on matter. The idea of any such relating element as cit-śakti merely complicates the situation.

If to avoid the difficulties involved in creatorship, it is said that God transforms Himself into the world, then it is either the whole of God that is thus transformed, or part of Him. If it is the whole of Him that becomes the world, then the world is God, and beyond it we need to seek no transcendent being. If it is part of Him, how can part of the eternal being be subject to processes of change?

The idea of God as an uncaused cause is not acceptable, for if everything in the world is regarded as the effect of something else, why should the cause and effect series end with God? What is there to prevent our asking who caused God? The causal concept attempts to explain change by showing identity between what becomes and that which it becomes. This identity must be either partial or absolute. If it is only partial identity that obtains betwen cause and effect, this can be had among many thing that are not causally related. If on the other hand, absolute identity exists, then if the cause is uncaused, the effect should likewise be uncaused. Thus the concept of an uncaused cause is full of contradictions.

That a certain effect follows from a certain cause has not the certainty that attaches to the mathematical deduction that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. Any cause-effect sequence that has been observed is likely to be overthrown by any negative instance that may occur in the light of further experience. This is true also of all scientific laws of induction. Should the cause-effect relationship be established between God and the world, this will be not have absolute certainty either. To the Siddhāntin, however, this presents no difficulty; for to him, this knowledge which he obtains from experience about the relationship between God and the world is only a further confirmation of Scripture.

Some that are overwhelmed by the difficulties involved in proving the existence of God swing to the opposite extreme of explaining the universe without God, implying that He is superfluous or does not exist. But these theories cannot stand the test of criticism. Those who maintian that the four elements of fire, water, earth and air can act and interact and produce the universe, are met by Siddhāntin's reply that every one of these elements is subject to the three processes of origin, development and decay; and that for the important processes of evolution, a controlling being over and above these fluctuations is required. It is difficult to conceive of inert matter developing into a cosmos, and undergoing the ordered changes in the universe. If this were possible, then we should see clay transforming itself into pots. It is not merely because such events do not happen that we argue that similar occurrences cannot take place on a cosmic scale, but because there is a contradiction involved in thinking of inert matter performing that which man, gifted with intelligence as he is, cannot do even with the co-operation of his fellow-men. Some have thought that to conceive of particles of matter that are in a continuous state of motion makes it easier for one to understand the cosmic processes going on by themselves with out a Prime mover to give them the first impetus.

Even this added element of motion injected into particles of matter, does not answer the purpose of bringing a cosmoc into being. It may be contended that particles of matter moving with varying speeds have brought about the universe. It is obvious now that step by step the cosmic stuff is made to gain various elements that seem needed to explain the purpose underlying the world. This process of endowing original matter with various capacities may be overdone, so that qualities that can never belong to it may be predicated of it. This is exactly what happens when it is said that particles moving at different rates of motion have been responsible for the universe evolving from matter? At this point, the question naturally arises as to how these particles come to have just those rates of motion that are needed for evolving the universe. It is a marvel that particles of matter that are not guided by any supreme being, and that do not communicate with each other should assume just those varying speeds that will bring about a harmonious universe. It is obvious that the particles are given more than naturally belongs to them, so that they point out the need for an intelligence that alone can account for a cosmos.

Those who attribute the world to atoms and *adṛṣṭa* being to realise that something more than atoms and *adṛṣṭa* is needed to explain the universe. Atoms must be either active or inactive; if they are naturally active, then they should be eternally active, and this rules out any period of rest; and if inactive, how do they commence to move? Adṛṣṭa by itself is insufficient. Souls have no control over adṛṣṭa, for if they had, they would avert misery. The need of God is felt to evolve the world from atoms and adṛṣṭa.

The argument put forward by some that puruṣa can serve as the intelligent first cause to account for the evolution of the world is open to criticism. As Descartes maintains, the cause must have as much reality as the effect. That being so, it is impossible to conceive of man as the author of the universe, for the creation of it is an undertaking too vast for the small resources of man. If it lay in man's power to creat the universe, would he not hesitate before he brought into being that which is the cause of so

much misery to him? Or at least would he not pause to consider ways of moulding the world so as to derive better satisfaction from it? Or can it be said that even at the beginning of things, man knows for himself that happiness is not the end of life, nor is the world to be other than a 'vale of soul-making'? All such theorising is equivalent to building in the air, for if we are capable of performing such wonders, we ought to be conscious of such activities. On the other hand, what all rational beings are aware of is their being baffled on many an occasion in their attempt to solve the mysteries of life, and the patient faith with which they need to persevere to get anywhere near what they think is the truth of the universe. A potter but the supposed authors of the universe are mystified at every turn by almost every aspect of the universe, and know not how it came into being, how is preserved or how it is destroyed?

Some have tried to explain the universe by the concept of evolution that from an indefinite, incoherent and homogenous mass, there is development of a definite, coherent and heterogeneous universe. This species of naturalism which resolves the world into matter, motion and force does not reckon with mind, and for this and other reasons, fails to be an adequate account of the world.

Darwin's account of evolution is a mere description of events in the biological world, and does not rise to explain the significance of the changes noticed. His theory rests on certain assumptions whose significance is not examined at all. Had Darwin carried out his investigations along this line, he would in all probability have realised that there was in this universe much more than he had allowed for in his theory. He attempts to explain the origin of species on the basis of natural selection among variations. But this principle fails to account for many developments in organisms. "Well may Darwin have said that the eye made him shudder when he tried to account for it by natural selection. Why, its adaptations in one respect alone, minor though they be, are enough to stagger any number of selectionists". Not only is the principle of natural selection insufficient to account for such developments as those noted above, but it does not account for the upward trend in nearly all the changes that take place. The causes of the evolution of life are mysterious. Darwin has indeed stressed the fact of evolution; but he has not dealt with the causes of evolution. Darwin stopped short of discovering certain significant facts.

Every stage of evolution is marked by the advent of new values, and there is progress in the whole process so that matter, life, intelligence, language, reason, science, social organisation, morals and art appear in succession. In his 'Emergent Evolution' Lloyd Morgan pictures the world as a pyramid with ascending levels; and at every one of these levels is a new emergent. From matter, we proceed to the level of life, and from life to that of mind. Besides nothing these significant facts, the author pauses to consider what causes the 'emergent to emerge' for there is certainly an agency which, as it were, raises the world from one level to the next higher. And at this point, the author sees clearly the necessity that there is for affirming a supreme guiding power or God. Any theory that stops short of penetrating thus far in its search for truth, is bound to fail of an adequate account of the world. The theories that have been considered, and which look upon God as superfluous, are one-sided; and they can be maintained only so long as certain

significant facts are consistently ignored. But if any such incomplete views are to be avoided, then one is led to see with Lloyd Morgan the necessity for affirming a Supreme Being.

The existence of such a supreme controller, however, can never be demonstrated with metaphysical certainty. Philosophical inquiries, however diligently pursued do not take us beyond Kant's conclusion that the various arguments for God's existence, of whichever type they be, can never demonstrate the existence of God.

The same holds good of the Siddhāntin's arguments for the existence of God. However, his search is not without value; for it shows discontent with inadequate materialistic theories of the world, and leads one in the right direction of affirming the necessity of a supreme being, though the existence of such can never be proved with certainty.

It has been said that the monotheism of the Siddhāntin is an unexpected fact in view of the circumstances that in India polytheism is the popular faith, and that the Vedas speak of several gods, and that among those accustomed to a trinity (of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) one would expect god to be only *primus inter pares*. Significant and praiseworthy as is the monotheism of the Siddhāntin it is however, not a feature that should come as a surprise to any one acquainted with the gradual and sure development that came over Indian though, leading it from the earlier and uncritical acceptance of polytheism based primarily on animism, to the later considered view of one God. As pointed out by the same writer in an other place, there were various circumstances which led to a grouping of the gods, and later to monotheism among the various sects of Śaivites, Vaiṣṇavites and Śākta followers. If the Vedas aree cited as authority for the polytheism fo the earlier ages, they can also be cited as authority for the monotheism of a later day. Thus the 'Atharvaśikhopaniṣad' says "Śiva alone is to be meditated upon, the rest being given up, as He is the one that grants final beatitude."

The advance from polytheism to monotheism was an occurence that was bound to happen sooner or later as the result of a natural development of though. The gods that had to be propitiated were so numerous that it was an effort to remember them all; so by way of lessening the strain, they were classified into three groups of the gods of the earth, air and sky. The process of thus grouping them also led to their being worshipped in pairs, or in groups, and sometimes the reason for this method was that the gods fulfilled identical functions. Sometimes one god of a group was worshipped as supreme for the time being, and given the attributes of all the other gods. This process which Max Muller describes as 'henotheism' soon paved the way for monotheism; for this exaltation of one god over the others soon led to the natural questions as to which of them was the creator of the others, and therefore supreme. This led to reflection regarding the attributes of godhead. Of such attributes, omnipotence was an important one, and this meant that god should be supreme. The universe also points towards a single author, for though it is diverse, and diverse phenomena take place in it, yet there is unity of law underlying it, and this must be the outcome of one supreme mind. And as the polytheism of the earlier Vedas soon gave place to the later development of montheism, similarly, those who believed in

the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, soon divided themselves into the two camps of those who regarded Viṣṇu as supreme, and those who regarded Śiva as the supreme being. As for the polytheism of the masses, it has though centuries been set down as due to their backwardness, and has been allowed to continue side by side with the monotheism of the enlightened.

With regard to the nature of God, the Siddhāntin finds that it is beyond the powers of the human understanding to comprehend it to any considerable extent. The finite and sinful nature of man, which prevents any clear understanding of God, leads him to voice his despair saying,

"O Thou, who fill'st the heaven, who fill'st the earth, art manifested light,

Transcending though, Thou boundless One! They glory great, I, Man of evil deeds, know not the way to praise."

His attempt to estimate the nature of God, impresses him with the fact that He is full of every perfection, that often qualities that are the opposite of each other are predicated of Him without it being made clear how they are to be found in the same being. The philosopher poet, Māṇikkavācaga, describes Śiva as "the one and the not one" more subtile than atom small! the king incomparably great!" And turning to God, he further says, "Thou art the heat, and Thou the cold!" "Thou who art without pleasure and pain, who yet hast both!", "Who all things are, and their negation too?"

Although we see "He dwells a far where human thought goes not," still an attempt can be made to understand as much of His nature as it is humanly possible to know. Of the three entities of God, soul and the world, God is the highest. With reference to the other gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc., Śiva is so supreme that these other gods bow down before Him, for

"He made the moon grow dim in Dakṣan's sacrifice;
He, Indra's shoulder crushed; cut off Eccan's head."

He is not only the highest among the gods as a king among men, there being only a difference of degree, but He is also the highest among them on the basis of a difference of kind, though this superiority, as will be noticed later, does not amount to His being an absolute creator. The essential differences between Śiva and the other gods are two-fold, consisting in a difference in existence and in nature. The contention that though Śiva may be superior to other gods, He is by no means suprior to Brahmā, the creator, and to Viṣṇu, the preserver, is met by the Siddhāntin's reply that at the dissolution of the world, even the gods Brahmā and Viṣṇu, who are responsible for the creation and preservation of the world, are disembodied, so that at the time of regeneration, only Śiva remains unaffected by the destruction and He is the only one that can create the world again. Thus Brahmā and Viṣṇu are, in a sense, His creatures, in that they receive from Him their bodies and also their respective offices of creation and destruction. Śiva's supremacy then cannot be disputed; for,

"He is the ancient One, who creates, the creator of all;
He is the God, who preserves, the preserver of things created:

He is the God, who destroys the Destroyer."
"He discerns—the aeon and its end!"
"The God of gods, His sacred name!"

The difference in nature between Śiva and these gods is that Śiva ever exists as the supreme being, and at no time is He shorn of His powers. Brahmā and Viṣṇu, however, though eternal, as souls are eternal, yet do not retain their statuses as creator and preserver without intermission. The levelling power of *saṃhāara*, which reduces Brahmā and Viṣṇu to the level of souls, leaves Śiva as the supreme being on whom the next regeneration depends. Brahmā and Viṣṇu do not eternally exist as the creator and preserver respectively, while Śiva exists eternally as the supreme being.

Even in other respects, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are not on a par with Śiva. If Brahmā does the work of creation, and Viṣṇu that of preservation, it is that because of certain works of merit on their part Śiva was pleased to appoint them to the high status of being His assistants. Not out of their own full power but only upon command and under the control of Śiva so they perform their offices of creation and preservation of the world. Whether after this world-period, they will again be entrusted with the same work depends on their merit. Viṣṇu, Brahmā and all other gods are subject to creation, preservation and destruction. From this it is clear that the Siddhāntin places these gods not in the category of Pati, but in the class of souls. Śiva is the lord, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are His servants. Śiva is the one who gives freedom, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are those who stand in need of this freedom as they are filled with *māyā*.

Śiva is regarded as worthy of adoration not only because He is the supreme being in the universe, but also because He has in Him every perfection, and all these good qualities come into play in His relation to souls. Being full of benevolence, He is eager that all souls should attain release; and it is with His help that man can attain heavenly bliss. He hates all untruth and vice.

"Thou cam'st in grace that all things false might flee."

His devotees who seek what is good and true are helped by Him. The repentant sinner, who in all humility confesses his failings is acceptable to God, and not the proud and self-righteous man. To those that being eager to follow his foot-steps, seek Him diligently, He is a "guardian," a "father," and a "great river of exceeding tenderness with ceaseless flow;" but to the proud and haughty, He manifests His crushing power;

"He trundles Ayan's head like ball, He broke the teeth of Arukan!"

Reveration of His nature, as far as man can understand it, is granted to His humble devotees; but He is difficult of access to those who have not the right spirit.

He attaches no importance either to caste or rituals. A story is told of how a Brahmin worshipped in orthodox fashion a stone image of Śiva that was in the forest. Later, a wild horseman passing by also paid his devotion to the image in his own barbarian style offering swine's flesh. When the Brahmin came to now of this, he felt that the image had been polluted. But it was soon made known to him that the savage's wild from of worship, inasmuch as it was sincere, was as acceptable to God as the Brahmin's more refined worship.

Because Śiva is thus considered the embodiment of all that is perfect, men who know what is worthwhile in life, seek Him. He is the unfalling goal of all those who thirst to reach Him. Their reward is unending bliss. Māṇikkavācaga, on attaining the much coveted goal of Śiva feet exclaims. "My Light! Thou Changest all to raturous joy, My wealth of bliss! O Śiva Perumān!"

God is said by the Siddhāntin to have the good qualities of complete independence, flawlessness, omniscience, freedom from *mala,* boundless benevolence, omnipotence and bliss. As has been pointed out however, much importance is not attached to the above list. Rather it is the terms 'sat' and 'cit' that are frequently used in describing the nature of God. These two terms may well be recknoned to contain all the perfections of God, for each is crammed with much significance. The term, 'sat' is used in move than one sense; and it is necessary to have in mind all the rickness of its content when it is applied to God. The chief meaning of 'sat' is reality. In saying that God is 'sat', it is meant that He is real. No doubt, the souls as well as matter are existent and eternal, yet they are surpassed by God inasmuch as He is real in a sense in which they fail to be. They are subject to chaning conditions so that they rise and collapse. The joys of this life, the happiness of Brahmā and Viṣṇu and the lives of countless millions themselves are likened to a magician's tricks, to dreams and to a mirage. Though souls and matter exist eternally, they are subject to changing states; and if similia are required to illustrate that the world is asat, they are the figures formed on water, dreams and the mirage. In being thus transient, they fail to be sat, and participate in the nature of asat.

The compound word, 'sadasat,' coined from the words, 'sat' and 'asat' is used to described the dual nature of the soul which is considered to have a middle position between 'sat' on the one side, and 'asat' on the other. The 'sat' on the one side is constituted of Śiva and aruḷ, and the 'asat' on the other side is constituted of tirodhāyi and āṇava, the former pair signifying purity, and the latter impurity. Aruḷ or jṇāna, in being set in opposition to *āṇava,* brings out the contrast between enlightenment and ignorance, but this point is more markedly brought out by the terms, 'cit' and 'acit', which will be consider later. In cosidering the soul as associated with the sense, and as forgetting its kinship with God, the ideas of spiritual purity and of sensual defilement are emphasised. Summarising the different meaning of 'sat' as derived from the use of the term, 'sadasat' in various contexts, we see that purity, virtue, enlightenment, and spiritual nature are what form part of the contents of 'sat' as over against impurity, vice, ignorance and material nature characteristic of 'asat'.

A further important point that is emphasised regarding 'sat' is that unlike the various things coming under the class of 'asat', 'sat' cannot become an object of knowledge. 'Asat' may be pointed out as 'that', but 'sat' can never be pointed out similarly. If God were to become an object of knowledge, He would become 'asat'. The objection that if 'sat' is never an object of knowledge, Śiva can never be known and would descend to the level of the non-existent, is met by the answer that He is the intelligence of the soul, and being thus the soul of the soul, He is never projected forward as an object

of knowledge, which circumstance would constitute a limitation for Him. As 'sat' transcends 'asat', the soul can gain knowledge of Śiva only though aruḷ, which also is 'sat'. All things known by the soul's intelligence are 'asat', and Śiva, being 'sat', cannot be grasped by the soul's intelligence.

In saying that God is 'sat' one should think of Him as real, and by this it is meant that though eternity He exists unchangingly; further, one is to think of Him as pure, of the nature of intelligence, and spiritual. The negative elements implied by the term are that 'sat' never becomes an object of knowledge, and is never known by any medium other than 'śiva-śakti.' The term, 'sat' can be applied in its fullest sense only to Śiva. In this connection, our attention is drawn to what is said in *sūtra* VI of the 'Śiva-*jñāna*-bōdham' that the expression 'sat' in relation to the soul, and in relation to matter, can be used only in a limited sense, and that to them, the predicate 'asat' can also be attributed.

It is of interest to note one other meaning which the term 'sat' is considered to have. Somewhat similarly to Descartes' definition of substance, 'sat' is defined as that which so exists that for its being and nature, it needs no other thing, while without it nothing other can be thought of as existent. This amounts to making God absolute, and though the Siddhāntin believes he has done so, he does not succeed in making God absolute, although He is rendered comparatively supreme. God is not responsible for the being of souls in the sense in which a mirror, for instance, is responsible for the reflection cast by it, for here, both for the coming into being of the reflection and for its continuation, the mirror is responsible. Śiva, however, is not responsible for the genesis of souls, though without Him, they cannot function in any respect.

The other term used to described God is 'cit' which meaning's intelligence' may also be applied to the soul. Yet God's intelligence is so different from that of the soul that just as compared with the soul, *buddhi* is 'acit', so compared with God, the soul is 'acit'. The soul attains knowledge with the help of organs, but Śiva needs no instruments with which to know. The intelligence of the soul is subject to many limitations so that it can attain knowledge only bit by bit, and it forgets what has been already taught, in fact, the knowledge of the soul is so defective that the soul knows not either itself or God. Śiva's intelligence, on the other hand, is not only free from these defects, but is considered to have every excellence that constitutes omniscience. Unlike the way in which the soul attains enlightenment, Śiva does not gain knowledge bit by bit, but knows everything at the same time. This is possible because God by means of His śakti, is present in all souls, and also in matter; and hence, He is in a position to know everything. A further excellence worthy of note regarding Śiva's intelligence is that it is self-luminous, and enlightens souls. The term, 'cit', in its fullest sense, signifies an intelligence that is omniscient, and in this sense it fully applies to God.

It seems as if all that has been said of the omniscience of God is undermined by the Siddhāntin's further contention that 'sat' knows not 'asat'. The Siddhāntin tries to meet the difficulty by saying that Śiva cannot know 'asat' as an object, as paśu and pāśa are not foreign to Him, but form part of Him. As the sea contains within itself water and salt, so God (sea) contains within Himself the souls (sea-water) and matter (salt). Here the

Siddhāntin verges on Advaitism, for, on this analogy, the world and souls are only elements of the absolute; and this position is inconsistent with the statements that there are three entities pati, paśsu and pāśu each having its own individuality.

Further features that may be noted of the intelligence of God are that, being pure, it is free of both *malas* and the *guṇas*. The soul is in eternal union with *āṇava;* but God is untainted even when He stands in union with the mala-burdened soul. Likewise, God is free from *guṇas,* though standing close to matter which is characterised by guṇas. The term, 'nirguṇa' does not mean that He is without attributes, but that He is without the sattva, rajas and tama constituents of matter.

It was pointed out how the presence of God in everything made possible His omniscience. Hara is omniscient in that by menas of śakti, He pervades everything. God's omniscience and omnipresence contribute towards His omnipotence. Śiva is supreme over all. As He exists everywhere and knows everything, so does He also do everything. He is the ultimate cause of every event in the universe, particular or universal. yet these changes are not caused by Him directly, but by means of His Śakti.

This is the energy or power of Śiva. It is of the form of cognition, conation and emotion. Though of the same essence as Śiva, it is yet different from Him. The relation between God and Śakti is a very intimate one, but still it is not a relation of simple identity. The view that God is the efficient cause, and śakti the instrumental cause of the world creation keeps out the assumption of a simple identity between them. As the sun's rays though not existing without the sun, are still not identical with the sun, and as the king's will, though not existing without Him, still is not identical with him, so the śakti of Śiva, though not existing without Him, is still not identical with Him. Hara and Śakti are interdependent; except as grace, Śiva does not exist, and without Śiva grace does not exist. Without Śakti, Śiva does not perform any of His functions. To make clear the fact that Śakti is indispensable to God, an old Purāṇic legend tells of how when God put aside His Śakti for a time, all creation began to lose its vitality; and Śiva out of sympathy for His creatures became reunited to His Śakti.

Yet because of this, it cannot be said that as without śakti God cannot work, therefore, He is powerless, for this śakti is His own energy, and no foreign power with which He works. Śiva's Śakti is called either *cit-śakti* or *parā-śakti*. This as shown below can be divided either according to the operations of Śiva, or according to His three faculties.

Icchā-śakti manifests itself as God's desire to lead soul to attain release from their state of bondage. By means of *kriyā-śakti*, God creates for souls the bodies that would enable them to experience the fruits of their *karma,* that thereby they may attain deliverance. With the aid of *jñāna-śak*ti, He is able to judge the good and bad actions of the souls, to mete out grace accordingly. Though *śakti* owing to various functions splits up as shown above, it is really one. Since *śakti* is the means with which God performs all functions, all His offices are attributed to *śakti.* In order to fulfil His various duties to souls and the world, God take on a body.

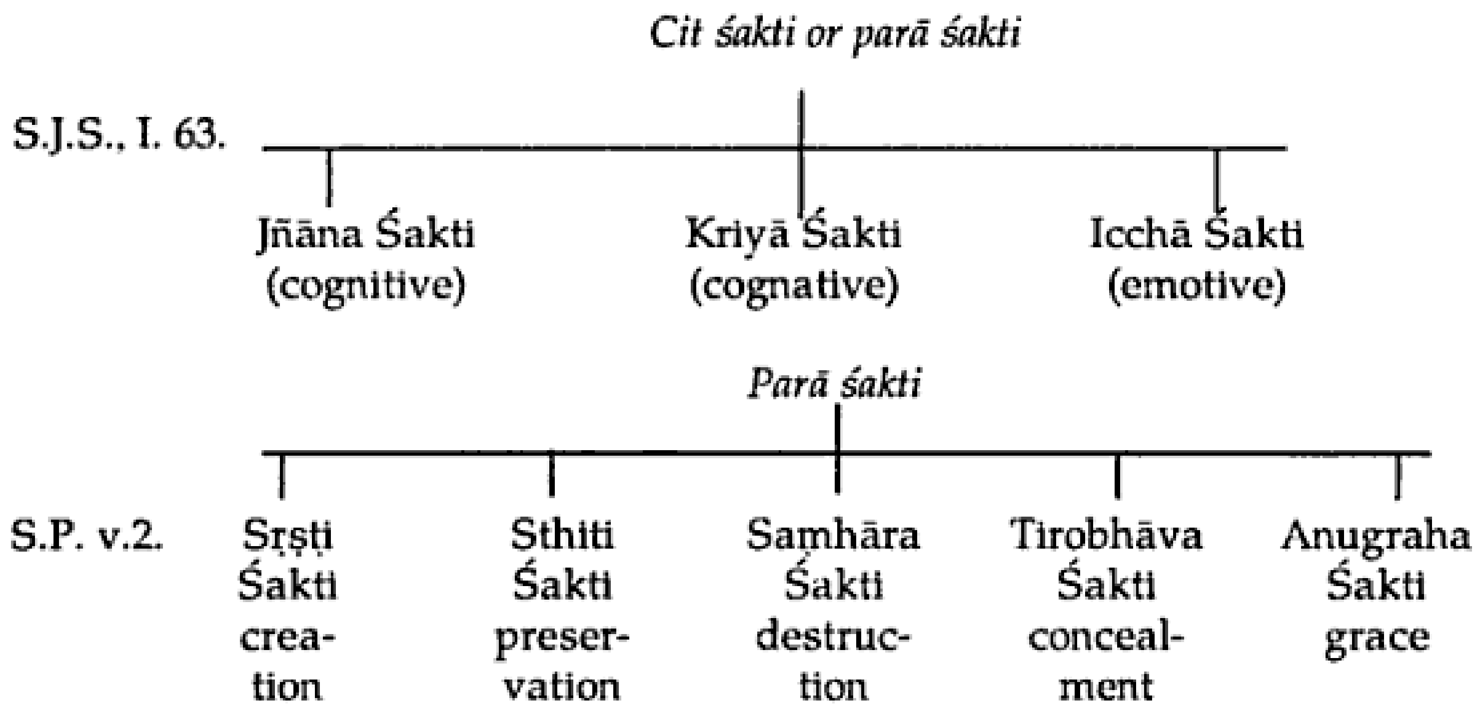


Fig. 30.2.

His body, however, is different from that taken on by souls, which, being covered by *āṇava-mala*, find it necessary to take on bodies formed of *māyā*, which is helpful to gain knowledge of the world; but Śiva, being pure intelligence and unsullied by āṇava mala, has His body formed out of His own *cit-śakti*. Though embodied, God does not suffer, as it is karma and not embodiment that is the cause of suffering.

The various offices which, by means of *śakti*, God performs are the creation, preservation and destruction of world, and the concealment and redemption of the souls. It has been thouhgtlessly said by some the God brings the world into existence, and after allowing a certain period of continuance, destroys it in order to amuse Himself. On this view, God would be a cruel deity to derive pleasure at the cost of suffering to human beings; His benevolent disposition would revolt at the idea of unkindness to any creature. The five functions are performed entirely for the benefit of souls.The world is brough into being in order that souls by striving may shed the impure mala which hampers the soul from knowing and doing all that it is capable of, and which binds the soul to this life. The work of preservation is continued, making it possible for souls to gain experience. The true nature of the world is concealed from the soul so that it desires the things of this world which are not its ultimate good; unless the things of this world are made attractive, it will not seek them; and it is only by experiencing them that it can realise their worthlessness and discard them. When the soul is convinced that the things of this world have no lasting value then the tirodhāna *śakti* is converted into aruḷ *śakti* and enables the soul to turn towards God. After a period the souls require rest; and it is then that the world is destroyed in order that the souls may have relief from their weariness. Thus each one of the five functions performed by God is for the benefit of the souls.

Although God thus carries out these different operations in connection with the universe, yet He is considered unaffected by His work. If God operated on *māyā* directly,

then He would be subject to alteration; but as noticed above, He works through His śakti. Just as the pot has the potter for its first cause, the staff and wheel for its instrumental cause, and clay for its material cause so the world has Śiva for its first cause, śakti for its instrumental cause, and *māyā* for its material cause. It is because God operates by means of *śakti* that He remains unaltered. When the sun shines, the flowers in a pond may be in various stages of development, so that at one spot there is a bud just about to open, and at another place a flower that is in full bloom and at a third spot a flower that is fading away; and yet the sun that is responsible for these different processes, is unaffected by them.

It is the same with God, who is not affected by the various duties He carries out. And just as time remains constant in spite of the changes that take place in the pat, present and future, so God remains unaltered by His various offices. Even the instruction of His devotees is carried on by Him without His being modified in any way. When the sun is in the east or west, it makes the crystal reflect the colour of the objects in the neighbourhood, and when the sun in over-head, the crystal reflects the light of the sun. In either case, the sun knows no variation. In the same way, it is Śiva-*jñāna* that enables the soul to attain knowledge of the world with the help of the sense organs etc., and also to attain knowledge of itself (soul) without the help of the sense organs. But Śiva-*jāna* is itself unvaried in either case. From the fact of God performing His various duties, it does not follows that He is subject to change, for He remains unmodifed just as the sun remains constant although because of its power, the lotus blooms the crystal shines and the water evaporates.

Thus unaffected by the changes in the world as He is deemed to be, He is yet the cause of these changes. Though Māyā and the soul are eternal like God, yet neither of them can do anything whatever without God operating on them. Māyā is inert and unintelligent, and cannot develop into the evolved universe without the aid of Śiva. Neither can soul attain body, gain experience, receive enlightenment or reach the goal without Śiva aid.

The dependence of the universe on god is proved by the circumstance that matter being both inert and unintelligent cannot organise itself into a cosmos. Moreover, at the time of saṁhāra, God is the only person that can be responsible for the re-creation of the world.

With man, God has a peculiar relation, for in him God is immanent, and at the same time He is transcendent. As both God and man are intelligent beings, there is temptation on the part of man to think that he is one with God. Though God is immanent in the soul, still He is over and above it. Because God is full of every perfection, and is difficult to be understood, He is hard to be attained, and because He abounds in grace, He stands without an equal. The soul, being covered with āṇava mala, cannot compare with God. He is pure sat; the soul, however, which is 'sadast', has leanings towards God, who is sat, and the world, which is asat. The soul either approximate towards God becoming more and more of sat, or degenerate into asat by giving way to the allurements of this world. God is the unfailing refuge of souls, which are utterly dependent to Him. He it is that

preserves them and gives them rest. God, the supreme being, therefore besides being immanent is transcendent also.

There is as much difference between God and man, as there is between the soul and body of man; and yet, just as man does not disown his body, but on the other hand, identifies himself with it, so God claims souls as His although in purity and power, He is far removed from souls. Just as there is close union between the lute and its music, and a fruit and its taste, so there is intimate connection between God and soul, although the soul, being covered by *mala,* is far inferior to God.

The souls are God's servants, and He is anxious the they should attain His sacred feet. For this purpose, He gives all the help necessary to enable souls to rid themselves of mala, so that they can attain the covered goal of release.

The outstanding features in the Siddhāntin's conception of God are the supremacy of God and His moral perfections. The Siddhāntin is of opinion that he has established the supremacy of God on the following grounds:

1. Of the three entities in the world, God is the highest His power is therefore unlimited.
2. God is necessary four souls and the world.
3. God is responsible for all events in the world.

Before assenting to the Siddhāntin's view that God is supreme, the grounds on which he bases this view need to be scrutinised. With regard to the first assumption, it will be readily granted that God is superior to souls and matter, inasmuch as souls are ignorant and subject to suffering, and matter is unconscious, whereas, God is not subject to these limitations. Yet His superiority is not absolute inasmuch as God is not responsible for the existence of souls and matter, assumed to be eternal. God is the author of the working of the world, not of the wolf itself. This circumstance, therefore, militates against the absolute nature of God.

The second assumption is based on a one-sided view. No doubt, God is necessary to the world. This alone, however, does not suffice to make God absolute. The further test for the absolute nature of God is whether He can do without the world. Judged by this criterion, the Siddhāntin's God fails to be independent and therefore absolute. If God is indispensable for the world and souls, these are equally indispensable to Him. God is not God without the world and souls; for it is these that afford Him opportunity to give expression to His creatorship, preservation and other activities resulting from His divine attributes of omnipresence, omniscience and omnipotence.

The third assumption that as all events are attributed to God His nature is rendered absolute, involves the Siddhāntin in various difficulties. At this point, the Siddhāntin resorts to the *śakti* with which God performs His various functions. The Siddhāntin deems the *śakti* concept to be rich with the promise of all good things. He thinks that it brings about a desired unity in the universe; that it secures the changelessness of the nature of God in spite of His being the ultimate cause of events, and that it makes it possible for God to be both transcendent and immanent at the same time. The value of the *śakti* concept in the Siddhāntin's system lies in its fulfilling these three

requirements for which it was introduced into the system. The Siddhāntin's desire for unity, which he hopes to secure by means of śakti, is accounted for.

It is pointed out that as the Siddhāntin admits the eternal existence of several entities, he runs the risk of being condemned as missing the unity, and running counter to the requirements that all that is existent must form a unified whole, and that the task of philosophy is to conceive of such a unity. He seeks to escape this condemnation by placing God in relation to the other realities, and by attributing to Him all events, so that in place of a pluralism of substances, he teaches a monism of events or changes. This much coveted unity is sought to be realised by means of *śakti*. God comes into contact with other substances and makes them function. The discrete and manifold entities are subject to the control of God; and the diverse phenomena of the universe have their source in Him. This all beings and all changes are unified through Him. Śakti is also supposed to solve the difficult problem of how God, who is pure spirit, comes into contact with matter.

If as the Siddhāntin believes, *śakti* should unify the diverse plurality of the universe, what happens when during the period of world-rest, *śakti is* withdrawn by Śiva into Himself? Diversity must necessarily set in again, and māyā and souls etc., exist side by side with the unifying element withdrawn.

If it is only through *śakti* that God comes into contact with other beings, and through it brings about all changes, then His contact with other being must be superficial, and His control of the changes slight. As pointed out, it cannot be maintained that God has upon the other substances a direct and unmediated influence in the true sense of the world. All events may be traced back to Śiva, not in the sense of a direct handling, but only in the sense of an incitation or stirring up which sets in motion the possibilities and potentialities.

But even this superficial contact of Śiva with the world is ruled out as *śakti* is no unifying element. For if this has been required to link up God and the world, further elements are similarly required to link up *śakti* with God on the one side, and the world on the other; and to link these links with one another, others will be required, and so on without end. Śakti, therefore, instead of unifying the diversity introduces further discreteness, and defeats the purpose for which is was introduced.

The eternality of God is very much endangered when He is made the creator of the world of change. To obviate the risk, the Siddhāntin places Him above space and time, and the finite processes in time. In short, he makes God immutable; and since this immutable God is responsible for the changes in the world, the Siddhāntin interposes *śakti* between the unchanging God on the one hand, and the changing world on the other to serve as an intermediary without prejudice to changelessness on the one side and change on the other.

The problem of how the unchaning God can become the author of the changing world is explained by analogies. The criticisms offered of the analogies are worthy of attention. The analogy of the crystal *e.g.* is considered to be inappropriate as the objects whose colours it shows are not present within itself, but standing outside it, are only

loosely connected with it. Śiva, on the other hand, is though to stand in such close connection with the other substances that by missing they are one. The question is not whether, Śiva is affected by things outside Him, but whether things in Him affect Him. The analogy of the crystal is not relevant to the problem in hand, as it deals with conditions entirely different from those existing between Śiva and the other substances. The same criticism applies to the analogy of the sun and the lotuses.

Śakti also fails to fulfil the third purpose for which it is used. The Siddhāntin conceives of God as both transcendent and immanent at the same time. Śakti is introduced to make possible the immanence of God. But inasmuch as Śakti during the time of world-repose, is withdrawn from the world and souls, Śiva at such times loses His immanence and becomes purely transcendent.

Even shoul Śakti be in uninterrupted contact with the world, it still remains to be examined whether the unity of transcendence and immanence, which the Siddhāntin thinks is realised in God, is an intelligible concept. In order not to create an impassable gulf between God and souls, the Siddhāntin asserts that God is immanent; and at the same time to maintain the supremacy of God, he makes Him transcendent. To explain this problem of how God, who is immanent in souls, can yet be transcendent, the body-soul analogy is used. The immanence is considered not to detract from the transcendence; for as the indwelling spirit is different from the body, so is God, who dwells in souls, also lifted high above them. In this analogy, the Siddhāntin says that when a man is called by the name attached to his physical organism, he responds to it; for the soul though superior to the body and different from it, yet identifies itself with the body. Similarly, God, who is holy and transcendent, yet claims the sinful souls as His and is immanent in them. The Siddhāntin, in using this analogy, presumes that the body-soul relationship is quite clear and makes no effort to render intelligible a mysterious relationship. Experience leads us to think that when the self wills to do a thing, it actuates the body which carries out what is required. However, we cannot unquestioningly accept such a conclusion; for reflection on the matter unfolds various difficulties which make the relation unintelligible.

To Descartes, who admitted that experiences such as perception, feeling and volition seem to confirm interaction between body and soul, it was inconceivable how souls whose essence was pure though could come into contact with the body, whose essence was extension. His successors taking up the problem, offered a mechanical explanation of the psychophysical processes. They offered the theory of psycho-physical parallelism, according to which every bodily change is accompanied by a modification of the souls, so that on either side, is a series of changes; but these series themselvės have no relation each to the other. We cannot rest content with this view which merely observes the fact of invariable concomitance of the physical and psychical processes. We need to go further and discover the reason for such regular association. Further, as Bradley points out, this theory is, "opposed to the main bulk of appearances" of some causal connection between body and soul.

The failure of this theory is due to the fact that "Body and soul have been set up as independent realities. They have been taken to be things whose kinds are different, and

which have existence each by itself, and each in its own right. And then of course, their connection becomes incomprehensible, and we strive in vain to see how one can influence the other."

Epiphenomenalism, on the other hand, reduces the soul to a mere shadow. Consequently, this theory cannot explain the teleology which is found in the universe, and attributed to an Intelligence or soul.

Neither those theories that make body and soul independent realities, nor those the explain away one or the other of them making it unreal, offer a satisfactory account of the problem. The only plausible explanation of the relationship between body and souls has to overcome the dualism between the two by doing away with their independence and making them aspects of a third reality.

Bradley attempting to solve the problem finds that body and soul are appearances. If so, they must have their basis in a third reality of which they are appearances. Bradley maintains that it is in the Absolute that the phenomena of body and soul are somehow transmuted, so that it is possible for them as appearances of the Absolute to have interaction with each other. This interaction cannot be demonstrated; but it is in keeping with the bulk of experience that there is some casual relation.

The phenomena usually considered in this connection are those of the mental and physical series; the correlation between these two presents no problem of the Siddhāntin; for mind being an evolute of *prakṛti*, and consequently a subtle form of matter, there is no difficulty in conceiving of their interaction. But this still leaves unsolved the soul-body problem; for unlike Western philosophers, who identify mind with the soul, the Siddhāntin places soul over and above the internal senses that go to form the mind. To him, the soul is pure spirit, and over against this is the body with its material nature. If the two are independent realities with diverse natures, how do they come together? The Siddhāntin fails to be that there is a problem at all, and takes for granted that the body-soul relation is obvious. On this assumption, He applies the body-soul analogy, which is itself is not clear, to explain the even more difficult relationship between God and the soul. He hopes by this analogy to prove the God is immanent in souls, while at the same time He is transcendent. These two concepts of transcendence and immanence are contrary concepts that cannot both be true at once. By the immanence of God, we do not mean the mere coexistence of God with the soul, such as makes no difference whatever to the latter. And yet, if God were to come into contact with the soul, He could not at the same time be transcendnet. The Siddhāntin's contention that the transcendence of God is consistent with His immanence in souls as it is His śakti and not He that dwells in souls will not gain acceptance, for as noted above, the śakti concept, instead of solving difficulties, intensifies them.

The supremacy of God, based on the three grounds shown above, is not borne out by any of them. God is not absolute because He is not responsible for the existence of souls and matter. He is not absolute because He is the author of the changes in the world, and because He is immanent in the world of change. The second feature, which is held to characterise the Siddhāntin's concept of God, is His moral perfection. In order to give

expression to His love and tenderness, which are a few of the traits that make up His goodness, He requires the world and souls. For, considering that except as grace, Śiva does not exist, the world and souls that call forth the grace of God are indispensable to Him. This again is disturbing to the absolute nature of God. It is these and other contradictions noted above that point towards the more satisfying concept of the Absolute, which, however, the Siddhāntin is not willing to accept.

31
The Fundamentals of Śaiva Siddhānta

The Fundamental doctrine of Śaiva Siddhānta is that God, Soul and Bond have been uncreated and are eternal. They are said to be *Anathi Nithyam* in Śaiva Siddhanta technical terminology.

All the Religions which accept God agree that He is uncreated and eternal. They also agree that God is omnipotent, all pervasive, one who is perfect, and one who has infinite mercy.

The Atheists do not accept the existence of God or Soul. They say that all-Matter has come into existence by the Fusin of atoms and that if the atoms are subdivided or split they produce tremendous energy and that this energy is eternal. They also say that this fusion of atoms is creation and the resolution into atoms is dissolution or destruction and that creation and dissolution are acts of Nature and that no God need be postulated for this purpose.

Nature is devoid of Intelligence. It can only manifest its powers as they are, without any modification to suit a purpose. If the powers for fusion are great the powers for dissolution will not act. If the powers for dissolution are more powerful, the powers for fusion will not operate. If these two powers are equal neither creation nor dissolution will take place. However, since creation and dissolution are taking place in this world side by side, we infer that there is a superior Intelligent Power which regulates the powers of Nature. Those who believe in God call this Superior Intelligent Being as God.

Thus, God is necessary for the world to operate. God needs nothing. The World is non-intelligent. Hence neither God nor the World will profit by the acts of Creation and Dissolution. Hence it is the soul that experiences happiness and suffering by this cycle of Creation and Dissolution. Hence the religions which accept the existence of God will also have to accept the existence of Soul.

God who is self-sufficient and needs nothing has no need to bring into existence the soul even granting that the soul has been created. If it is argued that God created the soul in order that He may be worshipped by the soul or out of fun, then it would mean that to that extent he is in need and therefore the definition that He is self-sufficient becomes wrong. Also, there is no need for the Omniscient God to transform Himself into a soul with

limited knowledge. Hence, all the Religions which posit that God is uncreated and eternal will have to accept the truth, in order to avoid contradiction, that Soul is also uncreated and eternal.

Science and Godless Religions agree that if you go on dividing and subdividing the world of matter, it will convert itself into stupendous energy. But that energy cannot by itself convert itself into the World, since it has no intelligence. Hence we conclude that God is necessary to convert that inert energy into this World. Śaiva Siddhānta calls this primordial inert energy as '*Mayai*'.

Soul has intelligence. The *Lokayatas* (Materialists) say without any reason whatever that intelligence is evolved out of inert matter. But science has not established it so far. Hence intelligent Being is entirely different from inert matter.

As soon as life leaves the body, the body becomes inert. Hence body is devoid of intelligence. Life or Soul experiences pleasure and pain with the help of the body. But the Soul has not the capacity to take on a body of its own will. Hence God is required to provide the soul with the body (to act with) and the world (to live in) out of 'Mayai'. Unless 'Mayai' the material source out of which Body and the World have evolved is inert, it will not be possible to evolve Body and the World out of it.

Since 'Mayai' cannot act by itself we say that Body and the World have been evolved by God from 'Mayai'. Śaiva Siddhānta also posits that 'Mayai' has not been created by God. Let us examine the reason for this statement.

Though Soul is an Intelligent Being, it forgets now and then what it has known. Though it known that bad deeds produce misery it is unable to resist doing them. Even very learned men involve themselves in egoism, lust, selfishness, attachment etc. and suffer the consequences. Hence we conclude that there is a subtle force which obstructs pure intelligence from having its own ways. This subtle force cannot be intelligent. It is inert. God who is all-merciful would not have created a force which obstructs Soul's inteliigence. Hence this substance or force is uncreated and eternal and this is called 'Aanava Malam' in Śaiva Siddhānta.

Soul uses the body which has been evolved from Mayai as its instrument for experiencing the World and acquiring knowledge. Hence, Mayai is an inert substance which helps acquiring knowledge and Aanavam is an inert substance which hinders the soul from acquiring knowledge.

We have seen that *Aanava Malam* would not have been created by God. If *Anavam* which hinders knowledge is uncreated and eternal, Mayai which is the source of the body and the world and which helps acquiring knowledge should also be uncreated and eternal. This is in accordance with the 'Law of opposites'. Hence Mayai is also uncreated and eternal.

Suppose we assume that *Anavam* and *Mayai* have been created by God, the question will arise, from where did He create these. If we say that He has created them out of nothing it will only mean that they have come out of Him only. If we say that non-intelligent substances arose out of Him, it will only mean that He also possesses non-intelligence or ignorance. This will go against the very definition of God. Hence, *Anavam*

and *Mayai* are both uncreated and eternal. We have already seen that God has not created Mayai and that as it is inert, God evolved the body and the world from out of Mayai, The question arises, why did God produce the body and the world from out of Mayai ?

Soul is eternal. Anavam is also eternal. The Soul's cognitive, cognative and affective functions are entirely thwarted by *Anava mala* in the *Kevala* or primordial state. Mayai gives the soul scope to develop these functions. Hence God provides the soul with the body and the world made out of *Mayai* in order that the soul may step by step acquire knowledge and eliminate *anavam*. God does this act purely out of His Mercy. This position does not affect the definition of God that He is self-sufficient and is in need of thing. The act done in that state only can be called Mercy.

The question may arise, why did not the all powerful God destroy *Anava malam* even in the primordial state so that the soul may be free from it even from the beginning ? The non-created eternal substances cannot be destroyed. Even supposing that *anavam* could be destroyed God will not do so for the following reasons:

God and soul are both intelligent. God's intelligence is such that He can know everything without the need for instruments. But the soul's intelligence is such that it requires instruments, namely body and its organs to know. Hence it is clear that the Soul's intelligence is inferior to God's intelligence. As the soul's intelligence is inferior by nature *anavamalam* is able to obstruct its knowledge. Soul which has inferior power to acquire knowledge can acquire strength only by practice step by step. This step by step method is called *Sopaanamurai* in Śaiva Siddhānta. It is in the nature of the Soul to acquire knowledge only in this method of gradual progress. God, therefore, helps the soul to acquire knowledge according to its nature. If by one stroke God destroys *anavam* and makes the soul glow with intelligence He will be violating the basic nature of the soul. Helping the soul to evolve according to its basic nature is the proper method to be adopted by the all-powerful and all-merciful God.

How do the souls get experience and evolve ?

After God endows the soul with the body and the world of experience, the soul brings into play its cognitive, conative and affective functions. Consequent on the soul's good and bad actions, God makes the soul experience happiness or sorrow. On account of this experience the soul's knowledge becomes clarified. Thus the soul is enabled to acquire *jnana* step by step. This is the proper method by which a superior intelligence, namely God can help an inferior Intelligence, namely the Soul to develop.

Good and bad actions are both called *karma mala*. In the primordial state, *i.e.* in the *Kevala state* when *anavam* completely incapacitates the soul, the act of the soul in allowing itself to be attached to *anavam* is called *Mula Kanmam*. In this view *karma mala* is also uncreated. The good and bad actions which the soul does after it is endowed with the body are called *kariya armam*. This *kariya karmam* is not uncreated or eternal. It is by kariya *karmam* that the soul experience the world and acquires knowledge.

Step by step, by experience, the soul understands that except God on one else can give lasting happiness. When it realises this it begins to love God and to attach itself to nothing else but God, when this stage is reached, God by His Infinite Grace and Jnana

delivers the Soul completely from *anava mala* and makes it enjoy uninterrupted happiness by union with Himself. This is the ultimate state of Release (or mukti).

Soul with its limited knowledge cannot by its wn efforts know the omniscient God. If the soul develops overflowing love to God, God' Infinite Grace will help it to realise Him and enjoy the union with Him. That is why Śaiva Siddhānta insists that the only path to attain God is through Bhakti (devotion).

It is only when we posit, as Śaiva Siddhānta does, the God, Soul and Bonds, namely Anavam, Karman and Mayai are eternal and uncreated that we shall realize the Infinite Mercy of God and truly love Him, which is true *bhakti*. If, as Sankara says, God and soul are one ultimately, there is no scope for true Bhakti to develop.

If we say that 'Brahman alone *is*, and all the rest are mere appearance', it will mean that this appearance is also an attribute of Brahman, as there *is* nothing else to rely on. It will mean that ignorance is also an attribute of Brahman. Any amount of explanation will not slove this difficulty. Hence the proposition of Śaiva Siddhānta, that God, Soul and Bond are eternal and uncreated will alone be satisfactory. The result of a study of Śaiva Siddhānta will be the knowledge that Bhakti, alone is the true means to attain God.

32
The Harihara Sub-Sect

The earliest literary reference to the Harihara sub-sect is to be found probably in the *Harivaṁśa.* In the Epic and the *Purāṇic* accounts we find that each divine personality has a tendency to blend or merge with the other. The *Purāṇas* relate many episodes of how the two gods Hari and Hara became one and the same. In the *Matsya-purāṇa* we have a detailed description of the composite image of Nārāyaṇa and Śiva. In the *Skanda-purāṇa* it is stated that after the marriage of Gauri with Rudra, a fight ensued between Hari and Hara. Brahmā intervened and said, "Let both of you be of established reputation as Harihara." The *Liṅga-purāṇa* furnishes us with an interesting story in this connection. It is stated that once Viṣṇu had been to the Dāruvana in the guise of a woman, and there Śiva and the woman-Viṣṇu became one. A similar account is also found in the *Bhagavata-purāṇa.* It is stated there that "Śiva heard that Viṣṇu had assumed an enchanting female form. To satisfy his curiosity he went to Him with Bhavāni. Viṣṇu assumed that from again to satisfy Śiva. The Astral Lord became passionate and ran after that female form and embraced her. The female Viṣṇu got out of the embrace and reassumed His own form. Śiva was then restored to himself."

Iconic composition of Śaṁkara and Kṛṣṇa, instead of Śiva. Viṣṇu in the form called Kṛṣṇa-śaṁkara, *i.e.*, Harihara, also indicates the fusion between the two different religious sects. The *Nāradiya-purāṇa* thus makes Kṛṣṇa and Śiva assume the form of Harihara. According to this version Śiva has five faces while Kṛṣṇa has four only. Later on it is also stated that a son called Harihara-*putra* was born to Śiva and Viṣṇu when the latter assumed the form of Mohiṇi for the purpose of distributing the *amṛta* among the gods and the *asuras*. In the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* it is stated that there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu; these two deities live in one place and those who worship Śiva, worship Viṣṇu. They are described as water in two different jars. The *Vāyupurāṇa* also furnishes us with some accounts. It is stated that all things in this world are the manifestations of Rudra-nārāyaṇa. In the *Śiva Purāṇa* too there is a reference to the worship of this composite icon of Harihara.

Some *Śaiva-saṁhitās* and *Āgamas* contain important sections dealing with elaborate rules about the construction of temples and images which are often regarded as practical guides by the sectarian devotees. Thus *Suprabhedāgama, Kāmikāgama,*

Aṁśumadbhedāgama, *Kiraṇāgama* and *Śilparatna* throw a flood of light not only on the Harihara sub-sect but also on different branches of Brāhmaṇical Hindu iconography. Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* gives a detailed account of this composite icon. The *Bṛhat Tantrasāra* quoting earlier traditions furnishes us with information about the ritualistic procedures of the worship of this combined deity. While the usual *Tāntric* methods are prescribed, the *sādhaka* is enjoined to perform the *pīṭha-pūjā* either with the *Viṣṇu-mantra* or with the *Śiva-mantra*. This shows that the two deities, Śiva and Viṣṇu, were considered as identical and the Harihara sub-sect thus lived in complete harmony both with the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. Evidently this gave rise to the later practice enjoining that Viṣṇu *pūjā* can be performed on a Śiva-*liṅga*.

Referring to the composition of this type of icon the *Āgamic* works state that the right half of the image should have a *jaṭāmukuṭa* on the head that it should be adorned with the crescent moon. There should be *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the right ear (*Dakṣiṇe sarparājena bhūṣitam karṇa-mālikhet*); one half of an eye should be sculptured on the right side of the forehead. If there are two bands on the right, one should be in *abhaya* or *varada* pose, while the other should bear an emblem, like, the *paraśu* or *śūla;* or one of the arms may be somewhat bent and rest upon the head of his bull-vehicle and the other held in *abhaya* pose; or there may be *śūla* and *akṣamālā* in two right hands (*Varodo dakṣiṇo hasto dvitīyaśśūlabhṛttadā*). If there is only one hand, it should be held in the *varada* pose or should hold a *kapāla*. There should be a *nāgayajñopavīta* on the chest and *sarpamekhalā* or girdles of snake on the loins. The portion below the loins up to the knee should be covered by a tiger's skin and the rest of the body should be besmeared with ashed (*Dakṣiṇe vasanaṁ kāryaṁ dvīpicarmamayaṁ śubham*). The right leg should be somewhat bent or it may also be straight and be resting upon a *padma-pīṭha*. The right half might be terrific in appearance and should be red or snow-while in colour (*Śītāṁśudhavalaḥ kāryyaśśivabhāgo vicakṣaṇauḥ*).

On the head of Viṣṇu's portion i.e., the left-side, there should be a *kirīṭa* set with precious stones and of excellent workmanship. A *maara-kuṇḍala* should adorn the ear (*Makarākārakaṁ divyaṁ kuṇḍalaṁ vāmakarṇataḥ*). The arms should be embellished with *keyūra, kaṅkaṇa* and other valuable ornaments. If there are two arms one should keep a *cakra* or *śaṁkha* or *gadā* while the other should be held in the *kaṭaka* pose near the thigh (*Kartavyau vāmabhāge tu śaṁkhacakragadādharau*). The left leg should have various jewels and ornaments (*Vāmapādaḥ prakartavyo nānāratna-vibhūṣitaḥ*). The colour of this portion should either be green or bluish brown (*Atasipuṣpaśaṁkāśo Viṣṇorbhāgo viracyate*). It should be gentle and pacific in appearance. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* adds that to the left of the figure of Harihara there shuld be sculptured the figure of Garuḍa and to the right, that of Nandi (*Dakṣiṇe vṛṣabhaḥ pārśve vāmabhāge vihaṅgarāṭ*).

The growing spirit of harmony between these two Hindu sects found expression not only in the literary accounts but also in the epigraphy and sculpture of early mediaeval India. G.N. Rao has mentined a good number of this composite form in his work on iconography. One of the earliest stone reliefs representing this deity is to be found at Badami. The clear vertical line of demarcation between the *jaṭāmukuṭa* of Śiva and the *kirīṭa* of Viṣṇu, of the right and left halves of the image respectively is visible in the head-gear.

The two different earrings, *i.e.*, a *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the right and *makara-kuṇḍala* in the left are also very prominent. The four-armed god stands erect facing front, in his right back hand it holds a *paraśu* or battle-axe, with a snake round it; and its rear left hand keeps a *śaṁkha* or conch-shell; front right arm is unfortunately broken while the front left rests on the thigh. Pārvati and Lakṣmi stand on the right and left sides of the figure. Nandi and Garuḍa have also been represented in the panel. A number of dwarfish figures of the *Śaivagaṇas*, some playing musical instruments and others dancing, are carved on the lower portion.

It may be noted that images of Harihara have been found at many be noted that images of Harihara have been found at many sites in Northern India. In Harihara-Chatrapura, a remote village near the Śonpur station of Bihar, a temple containing a *liṅga* stands since the early mediaeval period. It has sound interesting features. On a *liṅga*, Hari and Hara are represented side by side and not merged in one form as we find in other icons. This shows, first, that here the deities are maintaining their separate entities and the Harihara sub-sect here was of a slightly different type. Secondly, here the *liṅga* cannot be regarded as a phallic emblem, but merely a black-red-slab for carrying the conception of two deities. In fact, whatever might have been its earlier character, the *liṅga* was no more a phallus in the later days, as proved by the *mukha-liṅgam* of India and South-east Asia. The *Liṅga* was the god himself (*...liṅgam sākṣād Maheśvara*).

In this connection we may also mention here the famous Liṅgarāja Temple of Orissa. As regards the significant characteristics of the deity K.C. Panigrahi observes as follows: "The Liṅgarāja is a combination of both Viṣṇu of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. In other words, he is Harihara and not Hara alone. A natural line that exists in that *Svayambhu-liṅgam* (Liṅgarāja) is pointed out by them as the line demarcating the Śiva and Viṣṇu portions of the same deity which is invoked as Harihara...the leaves of *Vilva* and *Tulsī*, which are favourites respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu are used in daily worship." Moreover, the tenets of the Harihara cult that was developing in Orissa from the early mediaeval period were partially reflected in the cult of Jagannātha which in its turn assimilated certain ideas from Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and even from Śāktaism and Buddhism.

Western India also bears the stamp of this sub-sect. In the city of Visnagar in North Gujarat (originally Viśālnagar) founded by Viśāladeva Chauhana of Delhi stands a temple with a beautiful image of Harihara in black granite. This image is small in size but contains all the features as directed by the iconographical texts. There is also another Harihara image which has been discovered from Soppara, *i.e.*, on the borderland of Southern Gujarat.

We may note in this connection a small sculptural representation found from Bihar (now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta). The interesting feature of this image is that the right portion of the image is emphasised by the *ūrdhva-liṅga* sign which is not always present in such images. This reminds us of the *Purāṇic* account according to which Śiva fell in live with Viṣṇu in the form of Mohiṇī. The left side is, thus, identical with Mohiṇī, the beautiful female form assumed by Viṣṇu while distributing *amṛta*

churned out of the ocean by the *Devas* and the *Asuras*. This indicates not only the gradual merging of the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava sects, but also the close affinity of these sects to that of the Śāktas. Another sculptural representation of such composite character discovered from Bihar shows how the Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical orders were gradually being identified with each other probably as a result of Tāntric influences. The main figure of this sculpture standing in the centre is undoubtedly the four-armed Harihara. One of the right hands holds a trident while the other a skull-cup. Of the two arms on the left side, one is carrying a conch-shell and the other a discus. The other characteristic marks of the two deities have been distinctly shown. But the most important feature of this sculpture is the inclusion of Buddha and Sūrya in the right and left side of the image. This perhaps belonged to the Pāla period when Buddhism had imbibed *Tāntric* elements in it. J.N. Banerjea observes that, "the halos round the heads of Buddha and Sūrya (the former stands on a double-petalled lotus and the latter on his seven-horsed chariot driven by Aruṇa) and the separate sections of the pedestal allotted to them prove that they are no mere attendants here, but are really cult objects for worship."

Images and shrines of Harihara are not uncommon in Southern India thugh it was a later development. In the writings of the *Tevāram* there are references to this form of image. An attempt has been made by the *Āḷvar* poets to harmonise Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Thus Peyāḷvār in describing the figure of the Lord on the Tiruppati hills signs of this Harihara form: "The descending *Jaṭā*, the tall crown; the shining axe and the discus, the encircling serpent and the gold waist-band are seen. So my Lord of the sacred mountain surrounded by over-flowing streamlets himself appears thus uniting in himself both the forms." Another *Āḷvār* saint, *viz.*, Poykaiyāḷvār describes this form in the following way: "His name is Hara and Nārāyaṇa (Hara-nārāyaṇa). His conveyance, the bull and the bird. His words, the book (*Āgamas*) and the *Vedas*. His residence, the Mountain and the Waters (Sea). His activity, destruction and protection. He holds the spear and the discus. His colour is of the fire and the cloud. His form is one." The description evidently shows the existence of the worship of Harihara image by the *Āḷvār* saints.

This is also corroborated by a large number of archaeological evidences. Thus in the great temple at Madura there is a fine carving showing representation of Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa or Harihara. A Kadamba inscription of 1171 A.D. begins with an invocation to Harihara and records a grant to the temple of Svayambhu Śankara-nārāyaṇa. It appears that some people began to realise the importance of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. People who believed in this syncretic form of the deity were anxious to spread and popularise the new sub-sect among others. With this object in view, temples dedicated to Harihara were built in south India. Thus a temple of this god is to be found in the Dharwar district of Mysore. The temple was constructed by Polālva, a minister of the Hoysala king Narasiṁha II in 1224 A.D. The following is the description of the image inside the temple—"Within the shrine is a seated image of Harihara—a dual deity representing both Śiva and Viṣṇu in one, the vertical half of one god being joined to the vertical half of the other. It is much

larger than life size. In the right hands are the emblems of Śiva while the left hands hold those of Viṣṇu." The inscription of Hūli of the 1097 A.D. established by a certain Ajjavara Nākimayya, record homage to god Harihara of that place.

Another record that comes from Dāvaṇagere furnishes us with some information about the reason that led to the foundation of the Harihara shrine. Some saying that beside Hari there is not god in the earth and some saying that beside Hara there is no god in the earth, in order to remove the doubts of mankind, they assumed in Kūḍalūr the one form of Harihara. The celebrated Śiva took the form of Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu took the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that the saying of the *Veda* (that they are one) might be fully established and they became manifest in the single form Harihara." An inscription of the year v.s. 1161 (=1104 A.D.) unearthed from Nagpur contains the following account. "Śiva and Viṣṇu form a peculiar combination as they are passionless and passionate, clad in tiger skin and costly garments, garlanded with strings of human skulls and flowers-wreaths, decked with serpents and pearl strings and smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes."

In South India we find that the 12th—13th centuries were marked by intense religious activity. It was an age when Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, the two dominant sects of Hinduism, not only organised campaigns of extermination against heretical faiths but als made strenuous efforts to establish their supremacy over each other. As the Vaiṣṇava creed stood its ground firmly, naturally, a conflict arose between the two sects which also brought discord into the social life of the common people. To avoid bitterness among the followers of these two sects the thoughtful men of the society made an attempt to reconcile the two rival sects by propagating the cult of Harihara already popular to some extent in North India. The earliest thinker of the south, however, who endeavoured to provide a common meeting ground for the Śaivas as well as the Vaiṣṇavas basing his ideas on the North Indian theme was the poet Tikkana, a minister of Manumasiddha II, the Teluga-coḷa king of Nellore. He tried to impress on the minds of the men that there was but one supreme deity, who was neither Viṣṇu nor Śiva, but Harihara, a deity in whom both Śiva and Viṣṇu were united:

Into the bosom of the one great sea
Flow streams that come from hills on every side,
Their names are various as their springs.
And thus in every land do men bow down
To one great god, though known by many names.

At one time this form was so popular that it penetrated even the territories outside the jurisdiction of India, *viz.*, Java, Camobdia and other Hindu countries of South-East Asia.

Although a close observation of the available evidences discloses the fact that the worship of Harihara became popular in Northern India from the time of the Guptas, the spirit of conciliation and compromise seems to have pervaded the relations between the two sects since the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka who rules from c. 106 A.D. to c. 138

A.D. In support of our view we may cite here the example of a gold coin of Huviṣka. The reverse of this coin depicts—"Śiva facing, three headed, nimbate; clad only in waist band, ithyphallic; has four arms and hands, in which are goad, wheel, trident, and thunderbolt." It is interesting from the cult point of view that *cakra* or wheel, which is an emblem of Viṣṇu, is in the hands of Śiva. This shows as suggested by J.N. Banerjea "the beginning of the interesting composite icon of Harihara of subsequent days."

Another copper coin of Huviṣka is also worth-noting in this connection. It "depicts an archer standing right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards; legend right in peculiar characters, which look like old *Brāhmī* for Gaṇeśa." Here Śiva is evidently denoted by the term Gaṇeśa as this term is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as one of the various names of Śiva, though in the *Mahābhārata*, we find that Gaṇeśvara is one of the attributive epithets of Viṣṇu. It thus indicates that both Śiva and Viṣṇu claim to be the lord of the divine hosts, and herein we find a rapprochement between the two river sects. These *gaṇas* or hosts of attendents of both Śiva and Viṣṇu have been distinctly carved in the sculptural representation of Harihara image found at Badami.

The circumstances that led to the rise of this syncretic form of image may be explained in two ways—political and cultural. The political condition of Northern India since the time of the Mauryas favoured such an amalgam of different sectarian ideals. During the reign of Aśoka who ruled over almost the whole of India and some countries beyond India proper (*e.g.*, Kāndahār etc.) Buddhism became the predominant religion owing to the religious zeal of the monarch. But after the collapse of the Mauryan Empire in C. 187 B.C. the religion gradually lost its importance, and Hinduism regained its old position. At this period Hinduism and Buddhism were more or less evently balanced and thus philosophical conflicts were frequently taking place between their respective followers. The inscription of Mahānāman found at Bodhagayā describes how the heretical philosophers, who opposed the views of the Buddha were completely overthrown. But after the Kuṣāṇas, Buddhism gradually declined and under the influence of Śaṁkarācārya it disappeared practically from the land of its origin.

It may be noted that before the rise of the Guptas in C. 319-20 A.D. Northern India was dominated by various foreign peoples, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas 'each devouring the other only to suffer destruction and obscurity in the never ending waves of foreign invasions and internal wars'. But they settled in India and very soon ceased to be reckoned as outsiders. They adopted Indian religion as well as her way of live, and were ultimately absorbed, beyond recognition, into India retained their un-Hindu foreign names and customs for some time, because Buddhism did not insist on uniformity in these points, but embraced all within its tolerant bosom. After a few generations, however, when the Hindu revival began, the descendants of these foreigners were hammered or coaxed into uniformity with the Hindus around them in name, in social practices and in manners; and a homogeneous population and culture in India was the result...the earlier rulers of the Kushana empire in India bear purely Turki names, such as Kujala Kadphisa, Vajeski, Kaniski, and Huviski; but immediately after Huviski we have the clearly Hindu name of Vāsudeva."

It was a grand synthesis that spoke eloquently for the strength and vitality of Indian culture and the elasticity and adaptability of Indian social structure. This is truly observed by an Oriental scholar—"The most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked (by our orthodox writers). I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilization, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and the European. Those Indians have a poor idea of their country's greatness who do not realise how it has tamed and civilized the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkoman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput royal races." The Indian religious teachers changed their mode of thinking in the socio-religious structure and presented it in a popular and attractive form instead of the old ritualistic one. P. Thomas thus observes "When Buddhism too made an effort to win over the common people and, in this process, had to sacrifice many a cherished ideal and favourite god, and borrow much from Buddhism itself." As a result of it most of the foreign rulers converted themselves into ardent champions of this eclectic form of neo-Hinduism. Hinduism thus assumed the form of an active converting creed.

The different sects of the Hindu religion jointed their hands to wash out the popularity and supremacy of Buddhism which proclaimed an open protest against the power and ritual of the Brāhmaṇic religion. "The Buddhist movement in India had broken down the Brāhmaṇical monopoly and introducted a rival principle. Some counteracting and equally popular expansion of religious creeds seemed essential to the very existence of Brahmanism and it became absolutely necessary to present the people with deities of their own as a counter-attraction to Buddhism." An inscription found at Ajanta may also be mentioned here to strengthen our view. It is stated that Kṛṣṇa, Śaṁkara and other gods beat a precipitate retreat before the advance of the doctrine of Buddha. It is further proved by the evidence of the Prabodha-Candrodaya which states that "when a common enemy attacks the *śāstras*, which though descended from the same source, are at mutual variance, they form an auspicious coalescence; and thus notwithstanding the internal disagreement of the *śāstras*, which proceed from the *Vedas*, they all unite in defending the *Vedas*, and in repelling the materialists."

On the basis of the above observation it may clearly be surmised that the various Hindu cults forgetting their rivalries and distinctions united together to minimise the supremacy of Buddhism and to make their religion more popular among the general masses of the society. It may also be noted that they not only amalgamated the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas, but also the Śaivas and the Śāktas and other minor deities of the Hindu *pantheon* in the later period. Thus the excessive popularity of Buddhism has been considered as one of the indirect factors that led to the emergence of the Harihara sect in the early centuries of the Christian era. Moreover, "This rapprochement between the forms of Śiva and Viṣṇu calculated to proclaim that all divinities are just different manifestations of the Supreme to suit the different contexts, seems to have come about very early in the Christian era."

As time roller on this fusion assumed more important shape and this is illustrated by the Pradyumneśvara motif during the time of Vijya Sena's rule in Bengal. Here Śiva,

Umā, Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are carved on both the sides of statue to harmonise—the Harihara, Laksmi-Narāyaṇa, Umā-Maheśvara forms. This religious climate can also be gleaned from the Śobhaneśvara inscription. The epigraph begins with the invocation *Namaḥ Śivāya;* but it records that the temple was built in honour of Viṣṇu and Śiva (*Viṣṇor Bhavānīpateḥ*).

This electric attitude of the Hindu religious sects is further manifested by the representation of *trimūrti* image. Thus, when Brahmā was added to the image of Harihara it came to be known as a Harihara-*pitamaha.* This type of image has been discovered all over India. The figures of all three gods are found carved on the door lintels of Khajuraho temples and the Vaiṣṇava temples of Osia. The *Trimūrti* at Kasara in Gujarat also belongs to the early medieval period. How people regarded Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as the different aspects of one and the same God would become clear from the opening verse of a fifth century inscription from Mysore—*Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahmatritayāya namaḥ sadā.* These three deities of the Hindu *patheon* are also found expressed in certain inscriptions of South India and also sculptured in temples of Perur. It thus seems that side by side with the idea of Harihara sect that of *Trimūrti* from of image also came into vogue in the Hindu *pantheon.*

The outward expression of this syncretic image of different deities evidently indicates their oneness. That there is no distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu is further illustrated by the epic conception of 'Viṣṇu in the form of Śiva, Śiva in the form of Viṣṇu.' The *Purāṇic* episodes also narrate how these gods Hari and Hara are the same, though two in outward appearance. It is repeatedly told in the *Purāṇas* that either of them meditates on the form of the other and that they reside in each other's heart. In the *Śiva Purāṇas* it is clearly mentioned that Viṣṇu is no other than the embodiment of Śiva. In the *Vāmana Purāṇa* "Viṣṇu is reported to have said to a ṛṣi that he and Śiva were one that in him resides Śiva also and manifested himself to the *ṛṣi* in this dual aspect of his. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* also maintains the oneness of these two deities. In the *Vāraha Purāṇa* we have ample references to show that these two deities are identical. In another place of the same *Purāṇa* it is stated that Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Rudra in the *Tretā* era. A similar reference is also to be found in the *Saura* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas.* It is stated that "As water mingles with water so Viṣṇu in his composite form becomes of the same aspect as Rudra...The one transcendent being has differentiated himself in the form of the two gods.There is no Śiva without Vishṇu and no Vishṇu without Śaṁkara, and therefore, Rudra and Viṣṇu assume a composite form as Harihara."

To understand the real characteristics of these two deities the following descriptions of the text are also worth-quoting: "I, therefore, bow to Rudra and to Vishṇu moving together. On the one side I bow to the three eyes and to the two eyes on the other. On the one father or Kumāra and on the other of Pradyumna. On the one holding the Gaṅgā and on the other the mountain. On the one wearing the garland of skulls and on the other *Vanamālā*. On the one holding the trident, on the other a discus. On the one holding the *Brahmadaṇḍa* and the other a golden club. On the one wearing the skin and on the other the yellow robe. I bow to the lord of Pārvatī and also to the lord of Lakshmī. I bow to him who holds the *Khaṭvāṅga* and the club in his composite aspects; who smears the ashes and the black *agaru;* who lives in the cemetery and who sleeps in the ocean; who rides on a bull and who rides on the Garuḍa.

"I bow to Rudra who has many forms and to Viṣṇu of many incarnations. I bow to the one who supports the world and to the other who brings about the dissolution. I bow to one who is of a benevolent form (*Saumya rūpa*) and to the other of a terrible form (*Bhairava rūpa*). I bow to one who destroyed the sacrifice of Daksha and I bow to the other who brought about the bondage of Bali. My obeisance to one who destroyed Tripura, Kāma and Andhaka, and to the other who destroyed the *Asuras* named Mura, Naraka and Kaiṭabhja. The one has a thousand arms and the other also has infinite hands. Obeisance to Viṣṇu and to lord Śiva. The one is worshipped by the *mantras* of *Yajurveda* (*viz.*, Śatarudriya for Śiva) and the other by the *Sāma* chants (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu)."

Besides all these evidences the *Mahābhārata* clearly stated how the appellations of the one are attributed to the other. Thus Viṣṇu speaking of himself says, "I am the soul of all the worlds. It was myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship the boon bestowing Śiva, on one would worship myself. He who knows him knows me, he who loves him loves me."

From the philosophical point of view it was not an entirely new conception, for it was in the *Vedic* literature in a nucleus form as illustrated in the story of Yama and Yāmi. the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* informs us that the *Ātman*, the original *puruṣa*, was bisexual and then he divided himself into male and female parts and multiplied. In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* Prajāpati is described as assuming a bi-sexual form for the purpose of creation. The conception of *yama* and *yāmi* of the *rgveda* seems to be of Indo-European origin. The twins *yāma* and *yāmi* correspond with *Yima* and *yimeh*, *yami* belonging to a late *Ṛg-vedic* hymn, and *yimeh* to the *Bundahis*, a part of the Younger *Avesta*. This may be taken as the progenitors of the human race. Prof. Guntert holds that "the word *yama* can be linguistically connected with two series of words—on the one hand, with Av. *yema*, Lett. *yumis*, Mir. *emuim*, all meaning twins, and on the other, with Lat. *geminus*, *genellus* and Gk. *didumos*, which mean both twin and hermaphrodite." Carnoy also suggests that "*Yima* had a twin sister *Yimak* in the *Avesta*, so *Yama* had *Yami* in the *Ṛg-veda*..." The Greek literature als furnished many interesting myths regarding the origin of the dual-concept of the deity.

In the later period Śiva absorbed many characteristics of the Vedic *Yama* and this combined with the closer connection between the Śaiva and the Śakta (Viṣṇu in the Harihara image is identified with Devi or Mohiṇi) sects evidently gave rise to the conception of the composite deities (like the Harihara, the Ardhanārīśvara etc.) in Indian religion. It has been shown that the right half of the image, *i.e.*, the Śaiva portion, is identical wit the description of Śiva given under Ardhanārīśvara but the left half, *i.e.*, the female side shows Viṣṇu with Śakti or Devī. Viṣṇu is here viewed as the *Praṛtitattva*. The deities are united with each other for the purpose of creating the universe. Moreover, in the epic we find that Rudra is of the nature of fire and Viṣṇu of the moon (Soma), and "these two powers are supposed to compose the world." In the *Vedic* literature Rudra and Soma had a close relationship and ultimately they became identified with each other.

33
Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava

A syncretic image which occurs repreatedly among the literary and archaelogical evidences, is the form of Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava, i.e. Sūrya and Śiva. It is interesting to note that the association of Viṣṇu (originally an Āditya) and Sūrya is popular, but that of Sūrya and Śiva is comparatively rate. There are even some archaeological remains which distinctly indicate the composite representation of Brahmā, Śiva and Sūrya.

Both the earlier and the later *Purāṇas* provide ample materials regarding the origin of this image. The *sāmba Purāṇa* furnishes an interesting episode in which we find how this form of Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava developed. It is stated there that after tearing away Brahman's head, Rudra took the skull in his hand and went naked to Dāruvana for practising penance. At the sight of Rudra, the minds of the wives and daughters of the sages became agitated. So the sages drove Rudra away from the place. Rudra went to the solar region where the Sun's chief attendant advised his to appeal to the Sun for getting rid of the sin committed. Rudra eulogised the Sun, the result being that he was purified and given the name Daṇḍi. The Sun advised Rudra to live in a sacred place on the earth where he himself would live with him in company with his eighteen chief attendants as well as fourteen others. The sun also conferred divine knowledge on Rudra, gave the name of Avimukta-*kṣetra* to the place where Rudra practised austerities to gain his favour, and assured Rudra that those people, who would bow down to the later and the Sun at that place, would become sinless. The story thus shows that there is no difference between Śiva and Sūrya. In this connection we may mention the account of the *Matsya Purāṇa* which contains at least two references indicating such an association. Mention has been made in one place that the worship of *Umā-Maheśvarasy-ārcām ārcayet Sūrya-nāmabhiḥ.*

The same *Purāṇa* further states that there is no different between Umāpati and Ravi (*Umāpate Rever v-āpi nabhedo dṛśyate kvacit*). Then, after having enumerated the Sun's names and the epithets by which Śiva is dented, the text adds: "Homage to that one, who carries noose, goad, skull-cup, serpent, moon and bow" (*namo stu pāś-ṅkuśa śūla-padma-kapāla-sarp-endu-dhanur-dharāya*). It is to be noted in this connection that of these different attributes mentioned above, seven are Śaiva and only one, *i.e.* the lotus or *padma*, is the characteristic emblem of the Sun. The close connection between Śiva and Sūrya is further demonstrated by the account of the chapter on '*Navagraha-homa-śānti-vidhāna* which

explains a rite in honour of the nine *grahas,* each of them being associated with one titular divinity (*Adhidevatā*), that is, Īśvara is that of the Sun, Umā of the Moon and the like (*Bhāskarasy Eśvaraṁ vidyād - Umāin ca Śaśinas tathā*). The *Liṅga Purāṇa* also refers to such a syncretic form of Sūrya and Śiva. The two sectarian *Purāṇas, viz., Sāmba* and *Liṅga,* classed as Saura and Śaiva respectively, mention this form of Śiva exhaustively.

The *Agni-purāṇa* gives us a detailed description of the attributes of Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava. These attributes are generally identical with those given in the *Nārāyaṇa Tantra,* cited by Rāghava-bhaṭṭa on the *Tantra.* The line '*Sindūra-āruṇam Īśāṇam vām-ārdha-dayitaṁ Ravim*' has been interpreted by Rāghava-bhaṭṭa in the following way 'Īśāna is of red vermilion colour having Ravi on the left as his loving better half.' In fact, the veracity of this verse is doubtful because the form of the Sun-god with his better half in the left side of his body is neither referred to in any of the *Purāṇas* nor has nay sculptural representation of this type yet discovered. Śiva, on the other hand, is described in many literary works as having his beloved goddess on the left. We have already mentioned some composite iconographic representations in which Śiva has been occupied the right side of the sculpture.

This composite form is vividly described in the *Śāradātilaka Tantra.* The deity is eulogised in the text as follows: "We render homage to the god who possesses an innate lustre as the bud of a golden lotus and has in his hands *khaṭvāṅga, padma, cakra, pāśa, śṛṇi, akṣamālā* and *kapāla.* Obeisance to him who has four faces and is beautified by three eyes each, and wears a tiara of precious pearls and is ornamented with a neckless." Thus the *Dhānamantra* of a particular variety of Sun (Mārtaṇḍa) appearing in the said *Tantra* conforms to a great extent to its iconographic features, and the text says that such a variety of the Sun-god is 'half' (a part) of Śiva (*Ballabhārddha*).

It is interesting to note that D.K. Biswas is inclined to trace the origin of a Javanese *Kūṭamantra Oṁ hṛṁ hṛṁ saḥ Śivasūrya-parantejasvarūpāya namaḥ'* to India. In this connection he refers to the *Saura Purāṇa,* the main purpose of which, according to Winternitz, is to glorify Śiva. Again, Śiva has been identified with the Sun god in the *Purāṇas* which we have mentioned earlier. To strengthen his view the same scholar further referred to the Nirmand plate of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena, where a Śiva-*liṅga* is called Mihireśvara, Mihira being a wellknown name of Sūrya. Fleet also opines that it distinctly indicates the association an identification of the Sun with Śiva.

The representation of three different types of Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava is to be found in the *Srihayaśirṣapañcarātra,* namely, six handed, twelve-handed and eighteen-handed. The text also gives us an exhaustive account regarding the attributes in various hands. Thus when the deity is six-handed, he is represented a standing on the lotus sprung from the ocean, or in a dancing attitude on a boat. He wields various weapns and has a fierce face with the whole range of teeth exposed. His matter hair is tied up with a snake. He should wear a garland of human head (*muṇḍa-mālā*). In his right hands, he wields the *cakra, triśūla* and *parigha* and in the left the ḍamaru, gadā, and khaṭvāṅga. He has a broad chest and well-formed hands. He should be represented as surrounded and served by his attendants Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, his queens, the Kinnaras and other gods.

When the deity is represented with twelve hands, he holds *khaḍga, kheṭaka, cāpa, śūla mukura, ghaṇṭā, madhupātra, kartṛkā, cakra, parigha, triśūla* and *ḍamaru*. In his eighteen-handed form, he wields *khadga, dhanus, muṣala pāśa, mukura, churikā, paṭṭiśa, kheṭaka, śūla, ghaṇṭā, madhupātra, kartṛkā, kakra, parigha, triśūla, ḍamaru, gadā* and *khaṭvāṅga*. It is interesting to note that most of these emblems are the characteristic marks of the Śaivite cult, and few are solar attributes. Curiously enough, though the attendants of Sūrya, *viz.*, Daṇḍīn and Piṅgala, are referred to the most important attribute of Sūrya, the lotus is absent here.

Archaeological evidences of the mediaeval ages are not wanting to corroborate the prevalence of this syncretic form of image. There are excellent examples, sculptural or iconographical, of this form of image in the temple of Sūrya at Koṇārak, Orissa. One such type of image can be recognised in the description of a six-armed composite image discovered at Madhia in the old Panna State in Bundelkhand. Hiralal could not identify the image properly. He refers to all of them as the representation of *Trimūris*, the constituent elements being described by him as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. But it appears that this icon has some bearing on the aforesaid conception of Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava as it holds in two of its left hands a *triśūla* and a *padma*, the third hand being in the *varada* pose; one of the right hands is broken, the other two holding a *padma* and a *mṛgāṅka* symbols. The boots on the legs and lotuses in the hands are no doubt the solar features, while the trident and the deer emblems are Śaivite attributes. In Bengal, this type of image has been discovered. A Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava icon belonging to the twelfth century A.D. was found at the village of Manda in the Rājshāhī District.

While studying the image K.C. Sarkar observed that it represents the Mārtaṇḍa-bhairava form of the deity according top the *Dhyāna* mentioned in the *Śāradā-tilaka* with some minor variations. The two forearms which held lotus stalks, and the two below them are broken. Though the face of the main figure and the crown are slightly mutilated, the pointed *tilaka* or the third eye is yet visible. The image is three-faced and ten-armed. The left-hands carry *sarpa, ḍamaru, kumudī* and a full-blown lotus, and its right hands hold *khaṭvāṅga, triśūla, śakti* and *padma*. The image has a pointed nimbus with *kīrtimukha* at the top and two flying figures of *Vidyādharas* on two sides of it. At the back are shown flames tapering towards the top. The image is richly befitted with various ornaments, such as, *kaṇṭha-hārd, karṇa-kuṇḍala, śirobandha, kaṭi-bandha* and *yajñopavīta*. Each of the other two faces of the left and the right sides of the main figure also wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* and has three eyes, and one of the two is shown as beared with the whole range of teeth exposed.

The central figure of the panel, *i.e.*, the main deity stands erect on a full-blown lotus or *padma-pīṭha*. A small dagger passes through the girdle and is attached to the right of the image. On either side there are two female figures, probably ūṣā and Pratyūṣā. Piṅgala holding pen and inkstand is shown on the extreme right. On the left of the image, stands Daṇḍīn grasping the handle of a sword. There are also two female figures holding whisks, who are the consorts of the Sun-god. On a *padma-pīṭha* in front of the main image, the goddess Pṛthvī. Another female figure placed in front of this image has been identified by K.C. Sarkar as Aruṇa, the charioteer of the Sun-god. But the identification is not correct. The representation of two developed breasts of the figure, a serpent-hood behind

her head and a cord in her right hand shows undoubtedly that it is a female figure. The deity is riding on a *Makara* and waves are visible by her side. She may represent Gaṅgā. However, there can be no doubt that syncretistic ideology was fully at work in the construction of this image.

We have already discussed the important and significance of this composite form of representation in different regions. There is no denying the fact that the Sun-god once occupied a prominent place in India, particularly in Northern and Eastern India, and this probably urged the Śaiva teachers to combine these two cults into one.

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This encyclopaedia has been compiled by a leading Hindu spiritual teacher and eminent Vedic scholar *Swami Parmeshwaranand* of Haridwar (U.P.). He has written several books on Hindu religion and translated many important religious scriptures into English. He has also conducted several seminars, and workshops where many reputed theologists from all over the world took participation.

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